National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

"DISTINCTIVELY CHRISTIAN" CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

From The Liberator.

LETTER FROM REV. HENRY T. CHEEVER, SECRETARY OF THE CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

MR. GARRISON: The strictures of your respected correspondent, C. K. W., entitled "Clerical Calumny," upon the newspaper report "of an address delivered in the Union Congregational Church, Worcester, on the evening of the 17th of March, by Rev. Henry T. Cheever, of Jewett City, Conn., in explanation of the ideas of the new Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States," has not met my attention until to-day, I find the article copied in THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Those strictures I regard as entirely justifiable and warranted, on the ground of the presumptive truth and accuracy of the newspaper report on which they are based; but it happens in this instance (as your correspondent has probably often found in respect to his own remarks at public meetings) that that report is lamentably incorrect and deficient; and I am sure the candor of C. K. W. will lead him to say so, and to withdraw his imputations of "false witness and wilful calumny," when he reads all that was said to the point in the address referred to. I therefore ask the insertion of the following paragraphs, the erroneous report of which has naturally elicited the article of your correspondent:

"Another reason that has wrought with us to induce the formation of a new Society is this, that there has not been until now *any distinctively Christian or Church organization against slavery.* The American Anti Slavery Society, formed in 1833, was, indeed, an outgrowth of Christianity, a natural product from the union of Humanity with the spirit of the Gospel; and it ought to have been adapted and guided by the Church at the time of its formation, through the cordial co-operation and control of her representative men in the ministry; for it was essentially a religious movement, and the men who founded it were men of prayer. To that Society will doubtless be awarded, in history, the prime agency in this greatest of modern reformations. Honor to its founders, and to the brave men who have perseveringly sustained it, and who have done so much to disseminate anti-slavery truth by means of it, and to keep the wrongs of the slave before the ear and the eye of the nation. Their reward is with them, in the pioneer work which they have done so well, of cutting and clearing for the principles of freedom to grow, which they, too, have planted, with unsparing hand. Posterity will care for their fame.

"But *that Society has not been the representative of the Church.* It has been mainly, for years, under the control of men who, whatever may be said of their unwavering fidelity to the cause of Humanity, do not hold, as we understand, to the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, nor to the Protestant view of the Bible as an authoritative rule of faith and practice; and although right and true upon the great question of human freedom, and far in advance of most of the Churches in practical philanthropy, they did not speak for those Churches, nor could a Society in their hands fairly represent the American Church.

"It has long been felt by many that a visible organization was needed *in the bosom of the Church*, that should bear, without concealment or compromise, the testimony of the Word of God against slavery, and should rally under its banner Christian Churches of every denomination in the United States, and should stand as the acknowledged exponent and organ of the Church, if not of Christianity, in behalf of the slave. To supply this existing deficiency is our object in this organization, and our reason for it; and we seek herein the cordial co-operation and support of all Christian ministers and Churches. We ask that pastors and church-members enroll their names with ours, and lay before their several Churches the claims of this Society to their support, and that they organize everywhere local Church Anti-Slavery Societies on the same principles."

At the close of the address, after giving divers other reasons for the movement, and proving, by a rigid comparison of facts, that there had been a great change in the attitude of Southern Christians toward slavery, this is added:

"It is the great fact of this *Southern apostacy* that now renders necessary a *positive expression from the Northern Churches*; and it is to advocate and secure such an expression, and to give to it moral weight, by the union of the people of God in it of every denomination, that we have organized a Church Anti Slavery Society. We ask now every Christian opponent of slavery in the United States to join us in this movement. We find fault with no existing anti-slavery organization. We do not say to any man, or to any Society, Stand by, for I am holier than thou. We would not absorb, or supersede, or crowd from the track any genuine anti-slavery agency. We have no fellowship with the narrow bigotry that refuses to join with an honest man in a practical work of charity, or in an aggressive movement against some great social wrong, because that man is not with us in our theological dogmas, or because we fear the imputation of his doctrinal peculiarities. We can go with an earnest worker against slavery and intemperance, *without first asking whether he can go with us in our theology or to the communion table.* All those who agree in the essentials of the Protestant faith, who hold with us the Head and confess their allegiance to the Lord Jesus Christ our King, are invited to enter with us into solemn league and covenant against slavery, on the basis of the Church Anti Slavery Society of the United States.

"A man high in the confidence of Church and State in this nation (Rev. Albert Barnes) has justly said that there is no power *outside* the American Church that could sustain slavery one hour, were it not for the sanction and support given to it *by the Church.* Let Christians, then, of every denomination, do what they can, not merely to withdraw the support of the Church from this foul system of wrong and abomination, but to marshal all its forces in stern array against it. Nor let minor differences or past antagonisms be suffered to keep good men from coming together on the platform of this Christian Society, to fight shoulder to shoulder with the acknowledged gigantic evil of the country and the age. All who hold to the sinfulness of the system and of the practice of slavery, whether in their metaphysics they hold the sin of slavery to be a sin *per se* or a sin *extra se*, let them unite in this practical organization for the extinction of that sin. If they can call the claiming of property in man sinful, and the selfish keeping of a slave, without his consent, a sin, then let them come with us, and bring their Churches with them, so as to bear upon the removal of the greatest scandal to Protestant Christianity known in our day."

No one could be more averse to calumniating the American Anti-Slavery Society than the author of this address. He was a member of two auxiliaries of that Society, one in the Theological Seminary, and another in his native town; and he was a delegate from the Seminary at the great meeting in 1839 or 1840, when a division was made in the National Society. And how far the author of that address "has refrained from all outward and visible manifestation" of his anti-slavery principles and views, aside from the habitual declaration of them in his public ministry (and that not without cost), may be learned, first, by reference to a series of twenty or more letters, over his own signature, in the New York *Evangelist*, some years ago, and, second, by consulting the chapters of a later volume, called "The Pulpit and the Pew."

With these plain statements and references, it will be seen to be unnecessary for a "representative of the Church Anti-Slavery Society" to notice further the three alleged charges of your correspondent, inasmuch as they were never either made, intended, or implied. H. T. C.

REJOINDER, BY CHARLES K. WHIPPLE.

Since H. T. C. admits that my strictures upon the newspaper report of his Address were strictly justifiable, and warranted *by the terms of that report*, I am relieved from the necessity of further reference to either of these documents. In passing them by, I will merely remark that my comments on the erroneous report seem to have been providentially ordered to the very desirable end of eliciting precisely what *was* said upon that occasion; and that, but for those comments, those interested in the new Society would have continued to think, and would have had good reason to think, that the speaker and the "Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States" meant to affirm just what that report affirmed. I am happy in having done the good service to both these parties of bringing their real intent and meaning more accurately before the public.

Since now, however, we have the true sentiments and the exact language of the Address, in relation to those controverted points, I wish to make some comments upon them also.

H. T. C. testifies that "the American Anti-Slavery Society, formed in 1833, was an outgrowth of Christianity, a natural product from the union of Humanity with the Spirit of the Gospel." He says also—"It was essentially a religious movement." This testimony is true, and it is nothing more than justice to the Anti-Slavery Society requires. If I should make any criticism upon the statement, it would be in behalf of the Gospel, which I hold to include humanity as one of its essential elements, instead of being complete without it, and requiring the addition of that ingredient to make anti-slavery. The American Anti-Slavery Society was, indeed, a religious movement, an outgrowth of Christianity. But what then does H. T. C. mean by saying—"There has not been until now any distinctively Christian or Church organization against slavery"?

If he means to assume that Church and Christian, used adjectively, each imply the other—if he means to assume that the absence of a Church organization necessarily implies the absence of a Christian organization—I protest against such an abuse of words and of meaning. So far from the Church of this country being *necessarily* Christian, it will be unable, judged by the Gospel rule, the rule given by Jesus of Nazareth, to prove itself Christian at all. But, leaving this point, I understand H. T. C. to say that the American Anti-Slavery Society is *not distinctively Christian.* Mere assertion, on either side, is here of but little worth. It is the life which must prove, both for an individual and for an association, whether it bears a Christian character. It is certain that the American Anti-Slavery Society does not *label* itself Christian. But since this fact is used to its prejudice by those who seem to think that an article cannot be genuine without a label, and can have no genuine characteristics but such as appear in its label, I will give my reasons for thinking, individually, that the American Anti-Slavery Society *is* "distinctively Christian." I think so from the open fact (of which I challenge disproof) that the whole official life of the Society, its declarations and its acts, from the beginning until now, have been in perfect coincidence with the following ideas, manifestly Christian, which appear in its Preamble, Constitution, and Declaration of Sentiments, and in an Exposition of these, given by its founder, William Lloyd Garrison.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PREAMBLE AND CONSTITUTION.

"Whereas the Most High God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon all the face of the earth,' and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the Declaration of Independence, 'that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness'; and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the world, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union and liberties of the States; and whereas we believe it the duty and interest of the masters immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas we believe it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of slavery in any part of the republic, and, by effecting the speedy abolition of slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a Society, to be governed by the following Constitution:

"ARTICLE I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

"II. The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, where slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its *immediate abandonment*, without expatriation."

Concluding portion of the "DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS":

"These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the Declaration of Independence and the truths of Divine revelation as upon the Everlasting Rock.

"We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land.

"We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

"We shall circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

"We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

"We shall aim at a purification of the Churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

"We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and

"We shall spare no means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

"Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. TRUTH, JUSTICE, REASON, HUMANITY, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

"Submitting this DECLARATION to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it; pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth—to deliver our land from its deadliest curse—to wipe out the foulest stain that rests upon our national escutcheon—and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans—come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputation—whether we live to witness the triumph of LIBERTY, JUSTICE and HUMANITY, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent and holy cause.

"Done at Philadelphia, the 6th day of December, A.D. 1833."

Extracts from an "EXPOSITION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY PLATFORM," phonographically reported from a speech of William Lloyd Garrison at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, in Boston, May, 1853.

"Sir, for what are we assembled at this Anniversary? It is to bear anew our testimony against chattel slavery in our land. That sin is so palpable, that crime is so enormous, that no man can honestly doubt in regard to its real nature; for God never yet made a human being who felt in his soul that he ought to be a slave; and, therefore, the universal heart of our common humanity, in all ages, in all climes, has rejected the idea that man can be made the property of man."

* * * * * * * * *

"But, surely, it is desirable to organize; it is better to work together than to work singly; for, by concentrating our forces, we can operate all the more powerfully upon public opinion. But how shall we organize? What should be the platform laid down, upon which to invite every opponent of slavery to stand?

"In the first place, it ought not to be a religious organization, technically speaking—Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, or any other; for that would be exclusive and sectarian. It would leave the vast multitude of the friends of freedom outside of it, for various reasons; and, hence, there would be great loss of strength, and an unwise division of forces.

"In the second place, it must not be, simply or mainly, a political organization; for as only a small portion of the people are permitted to vote in this government—as one-half of the population, on account of their sex, are politically disfranchised—as many persons are conscientiously opposed to upholding a government of war, violence and blood—as many others are precluded from the ballot-box by their views of the pro slavery compromises in the Constitution—a mere political organization must necessarily be exclusive, and therefore contracted in its sphere of activity and influence.

"Sir, we want something better than either the one or the other—something more catholic, more philosophical, more comprehensive. Can we get it? What ought to be its leading characteristic? What should be the condition and test of membership? I add—

"In the third place, the organization must not exclude women either from membership or from active participation in its affairs; because women abhor, and have reason to abhor, slavery as intensely as men; and because as many women are clanking their chains and crying for relief as men. Every member must be permitted to 'plead the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction,' on his or her own responsibility, as a sense of duty may determine.

"Lastly, the object of the organization must be MORAL AGITATION—the promulgation of the truth, and its application to the consciences of a people who are 'laden with iniquity,' and whose hands are full of blood.' It is a MORAL REGENERATION which is to be effected, as much now as in apostolic times, and by the same instrumentality—the foolishness of preaching.

"It is evident, moreover, that such an organization should be based upon a SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH, and animated by a VITAL PRINCIPLE, appealing alike to the understanding and conscience of every human being, without regard to religious or political opinions. That truth is, that slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a sin against God; and, therefore, that immediate emancipation is the right of the slave and the duty of the master. What is self-evident is all-embracing, and may be held in common by men and women; by Christians and Infidels; by those who belong to religious bodies, and by those who do not; by those who exercise the elective franchise, and by those who are disfranchised for conscience sake. We can give our hearty endorsement to the principle—requiring nothing beyond this, *that each one shall apply and carry it out, with conscientious fidelity, at whatever cost, and wherever it may lead, according to the light that is in him.*"

I rest my case upon these extracts, combined with the fact that their spirit has been faithfully carried out in the action of the Society. To say that a Society which declares itself founded from a sense of duty to God, and to those oppressed fellow-men whom God has declared our equal brethren—which specifies as one of its complaints against slavery that it is contrary to the principles of the Christian religion—which further testifies that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God—which, with entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, plants itself upon the truths of Divine revelation—which aims not only to bring the nation at large to speedy repentance for its sin, but to bring the pulpit to the performance of a long neglected duty, and to purify the Churches from their gross and palpable guilt—and which has faithfully applied those ideas to practice—to say that such a Society is "not distinctively Christian" is something more than a mistake; it is (in my judgment) a statement grossly false, and grossly calumnious; and a charge to this effect made by either worldlings or churchlings seems (in my judgment) evidence rather of unrepented sin on their part than of a single eye towards the welfare of the slave.

But, H. T. C. proceeds to say, this out-growth of Christianity, the American Anti-Slavery Society, ought to have been *adopted, guided and controlled* by the Church and the Ministry!

While the ludicrous and preposterous character of this idea is enough to make a statue laugh, it gives a key to the position of H. T. C., a view of his stand-point, and presumptive evidence of his honesty and good intention. He seems hopelessly and irretrievably entangled in the hypothesis that this American Church—which has determinedly and persistently allied itself with the sum of all villanies, in which South-side Adams of Boston is a recognized minister, and Deacon Netherland of Tennessee a recognized partaker and distributor of the Lord's supper—is really, nevertheless, the Church of God! the Church of Christ!! His manifest assumption that this position is held by birthright, irrespective of character, reminds one of the similar assumption which Scott (in "Woodstock") represents to have been made by a King of England. This monarch (the *ex officio* head of the Anglican Church) being about to fight a duel, founded on a licentious intrigue, was interrupted by the entrance of a clergyman, who had come for the express purpose of preventing it; but the royal seducer and duellist, not at all out of countenance, sends the intruder away with the authoritative statement that, being a clergyman of the Church of England, he is subject to the rules of that Church, "AND TO ITS HEAD"!

Does H. T. C. really think that malefactors ought to adopt, and forthwith take the *guidance* and *control* of, a reformatory Society that rebukes their sins? The American Anti-Slavery Society accused the slaveholders of a heinous sin against God, and accused the Churches of being (some by actual slaveholding, and the rest by acquiescence in it) participants in this sin. The business of both these parties obviously was to repent and reform. What claim had a guilty slaveholding Church, any more than the less guilty slaveholding "world," to take the "guidance and control" of the Anti-Slavery Society?

The truth which lies at the bottom of this fog in H. T. C.'s mind is plainly this: that the nominal Church, and the ministry, its leaders, ought (by their own professions, and by conformity to their adopted standard, the Bible) to be foremost in labor, zeal and faithfulness in the anti-slavery work. No doubt they ought! It is to their unspeakable disgrace that they did not think of or care for the slave, but left his cause to be taken up, in 1833, by one who was neither a minister nor a church-member; and that ever since that time, they have bestowed more active and hearty labor in hindering that movement than in helping the slave. But, these things being true, their first business in the premises evidently is humility, repentance, confession of sin, and reformation. They *adopt* the cause, the progress of which, from the beginning until now, has been in spite of strenuous opposition on their part! They *take the guidance and control of it* (like Lord Chesterfield of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary) after it has entered upon the highway of success! Such a claim, made by them or for them, is impudent in the extreme. But H. T. C. does not mean to be impudent; he really thinks that this American Church is the Church of Christ, with authority from him to bind and to loose, to dictate and to control; and, to judge by his language, as long as it displayed the banner "EVANGELICAL," and kept up weekly Sunday services, daily prayer-meetings, and semi-occasional revivals, it would still be the Church of Christ to him, even if every member were a slaveholder.

Is this harsh and unjust? What, then, does H. T. C. mean by saying (at the commencement of his fourth paragraph)—"But that Society has not been the representative of the Church." He means, if I understand him, to state this as an error, or at least as a defect, in the American Anti-Slavery Society. As if an anti-slavery association *could* be a representative of a pro-slavery Church! As if it were not the honor and glory of the American Anti-Slavery Society that it rebuked a corrupt Church as promptly and emphatically as a corrupt government! As if the sin and the shame of the diversity between these two bodies did not rest entirely with the pro slavery Church!

But H. T. C. proceeds to make more minute specification in regard to the unsatisfactory character of the Anti-Slavery Society. He says it is controlled by men who do not hold, 1st, the plenary inspiration of the Bible; nor, 2d, the Protestant view of its authority.

Of course, they do not hold these ideas *as members of, or leaders in, the American Anti-Slavery Society.* To bring up either these dogmas or their opposites for adjudication by that Society would be inappropriate, *impertinent*, entirely inconsistent with its proper province—the deliverance of the slave. Even if these dogmas were parts of Christianity at all, and even if the persons referred to held them with the strongest faith as individuals, they could not require the Society to express any opinion, or take any action upon them, because they are entirely foreign to the business and purpose of that Society, namely, the deliverance of the slave. That great essential feature of Christianity which *is* concerned with the deliverance of the slave—the duty of practically recognizing him as a brother because he is a child of our common Father—*that* great truth *is* incorporated with the constitutional basis of the Society, and with its whole series of operations, from the beginning until now; but when a sectarian of any sort tries to thrust in his particular dogma, and apply the moral force of a great philanthropic movement to the support of sprinkling or immersion, of Protestantism or Catholicism, of plenary inspiration or infallible superintendence afforded to the writers of the Bible, the true Abolitionist must ignore all these matters while acting as a member of the Society, as thoroughly as Paul did the distinctions of Jew or Greek, bond or free, male or female, while treating of the relations of the individual to Christ Jesus.

Moreover, the business of the American Anti-Slavery Society being to incite the whole world to unite in the overthrow of slavery, it wants, for this good purpose, the aid of Catholics as well as Protestants, of unbelievers as well as believers, of those who call themselves "liberal" as well as of those who call themselves "evangelical." Acting as counsel, agent, treasurer, tailor, coachman and committee of ways and means for the slave, it is glad to accept in his behalf such aid as *anybody* is disposed to give. It would be utterly unjustifiable, as well as absurd and suicidal, before accepting a dollar or a pair of shoes for a fugitive, to ask of the donor—"Do you believe in immersion? Do you believe in the plenary inspiration of the Bible?" The slave needs the proffered aid just as much whether the donor believes in everything or in nothing. And if the "Church Anti-Slavery Society" does not want men to oppose slavery till they are Christians (and, moreover, Christians of the Protestant, plenary-inspiration stripe), or if it will not admit men, until they become such, to the great advantage (to the slave) of *coöperation* in his behalf, all I have to say is that they will show themselves less efficient for the slave, and less heartily engaged in his service, than the American Anti-Slavery Society.

How can H. T. C. say—"We find fault with no existing anti-slavery organization"? Has he not (in the corrected version of his Worcester address now before us) tried to turn to the credit of his Society the name most highly honored in the civilized world, the name *Christian*, by turning it to the *discredit* of the American Anti-Slavery Society? Is not his allegation, that the leaders of that Society do not hold certain theories in regard to the Bible, intended to show that the Society itself is unsatisfactory, and that a new one needs to be formed? It is because he *has* blamed, and unjustly blamed, the American Anti-Slavery Society that I am calling him to account.

The whole of this controversy between the friends of the two Societies lies in a nutshell, and this is it, in my apprehension.

Both Societies being really anti-slavery in principle, and both having published to the world their principles, purposes and methods of operation, each has the right fairly to criticize the other, first generally, in regard to its faithfulness to the slave, and next particularly, as to its fidelity to its own principles. Our criticism of you is founded on a fair basis, being made from the stand-point of the slave, to whose interests you have deliberately pledged yourselves; your criticism of us is founded upon an *unfair* basis, being made from the stand-point of the Church, to whose interests we are not pledged in any way whatever.

The frankness of inconsistency shown by H. T. C. is excessive and remarkable. To specify one of several instances of it in the article above, the latter half of its seventh paragraph is directly self-contradictory; for, immediately after disclaiming the narrow bigotry which would refuse coöperation in a work of charity on account of theological differences, the writer proceeds to invite to the help of the slave those who *agree with him* in "the essentials of the Protestant faith."

Here narrowness is first disclaimed, and, then practised. Is help to the slave good for nothing until the helper has made up his mind about the essentials of the Protestant faith?

The important fact, in regard to the "Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States," is that it has undertaken to serve two masters. We have high authority for assuming that it *cannot* perform true and faithful service to both. It needs no authority to show that a divided gift will be less to each recipient than the entire one; and a large experience has proved to us that when a party undertakes to help "the Church and the slave," the slave's portion will assuredly be less than half at the beginning, and will grow

"Small by degrees, and beautifully less,"

until it vanishes altogether.

I doubt not H. T. C.'s strong and hearty desire to benefit the slaves, nor that he has pleaded their cause, in the pulpit and elsewhere, "not without cost." I am perfectly convinced, now, that he meant to be fair and just in saying what he did at Worcester (as above reported) against the American Anti-Slavery Society. But I am also so perfectly convinced (both by his letter above and by my recollection of similar features in the book to which he refers me, "The Pulpit and the Pew," which I carefully read at the time of its publication) that he has established the permanent habit of looking at "evangelical" church-members as *high-caste* persons, and at others as necessarily holding a lower rank, both in character and rights, that I must urge him to make the effort necessary to overcome this tendency in the present case. I therefore request him to show, by specification, either

1. That the *constitutional basis* of the American Anti-Slavery Society, above given, is, in any respect, other than "distinctively Christian": or,

2. That the *official action* of that body has ever been other than "distinctively Christian": or else,

3. To retract his statement that there has not existed—before the formation of the *Church Anti-Slavery Society of the United States*—"any distinctively Christian organization against slavery."

I understand H. T. C. to disavow, as incorrect, the allegation in the newspaper report of his address, that the American Anti-Slavery Society "had latterly come to be mainly guided by men notoriously and avowedly rejectors of the fundamentals of Christianity," or I should demand proof of that also. C. K. W.

SPEAK low to me, my Savior, low and sweet
From out the hallelujahs, sweet and low,
Lest I should fear and fall, and miss thee so,
Who art not missed by any that entreat.
Speak to me as to Mary at thy feet—
And if no precious gems my hand bestow,
Let my tears drop like amber, while I go
In reach of thy divinest voice, complete
In humanest affection—thus, in sooth,
To lose the sense of losing! As a child,
Whose song-bird seeks the wood for evermore,
Is sung to, in its stead, by mother's mouth,
Till sinking on her breast, love reconciled,
He sleeps the faster that he wept before.
—*Mrs. Browning.*

STATE OF THE WEST INDIES.

[Mr. C. Buxton, son of the late Thomas Fowell Buxton, made a speech in the British House of Commons, on the 3d of March, from which we present an extract.]

MR. BUXTON said, in rising to move for a Committee to inquire into the present state of the West Indies, and the best means of promoting immigration, he would first of all touch on the former part of his motion. It was very common to hear it said that emancipation had been a failure. He read, not long ago, in one of our leading periodicals, that the philanthropists had been the ruin of the West Indies. There was a floating impression in the public mind that freedom had plunged the West Indian planters into hopeless penury, and the negroes into a kind of voluptuous barbarism. It was not surprising that such a notion should prevail. No one could deny that in 1847 and the ensuing years the owners of West Indian property were thrown in a state of the utmost distress, and, of course, since slavery was done away in 1834, and that crash fell within thirteen years afterwards, the world could not but assume that emancipation had caused the events that followed so hard upon it; the more so because the abolition of slavery caught the eyes of the whole people; every one bore it in mind, whereas that which really came like a thunderbolt upon the planters was much less within ken. That which really struck the planters down was the enormous fall in the price of sugar, which in 1840 was 49*s.* per cwt. (without the duty), and in 1848 was 23*s.* 5*d.*, a fall of more than one-half. He had given a long and minute study to the history of the West Indies during the last fifteen years, and the thing which had most struck him, and which could not have failed to strike any one who made the same investigation, was the close parallel between the history, during that period, of the West Indies and of Ireland. In each country the very same causes had wrought the very same effects—had brought about the same ruinous, the same rotten state of affairs. Each country was at length overtaken by a great calamity, which at the time seemed fatal. Each country—the old order of things having been swept away by that calamity—each country was now rising steadily and swiftly to a high degree of wealth. In the West Indies, just as in Ireland, but to an even greater extent, the proprietors used to be absentees; but what made that more disastrous in the case of the West Indies was, that the planter could not let his sugar estate, but was obliged to carry on the costly and precarious processes, not merely of cultivating the sugar-cane, but of manufacturing the sugar at his own cost, under his own hand, by means of agents. And so hard was it to find any man who at once understood the management of a sugar estate, who was willing to live in the West Indies, who was trustworthy, sober and energetic—so hard was it to find such agents, that he believed, in five cases out of six, the estates were scandalously managed. Those who had gone deeply into the history of the West Indies were, he believed, of one mind—that it was this, far more than any other cause, that cut the very roots of West Indian prosperity. The absenteeism of the planters led to a host of other evils, and, as one of the most judicious observers, Mr. Bigelow, the American traveller, declared, it could not have failed some day to bring about general bankruptcy and ruin. There was another trait of West Indian society just like that of Ireland in the days gone by. Almost without exception the sugar estates were heavily encumbered. Most of them were mortgaged far beyond their value. The owners of the estates were always struggling with an incubus of debt which they could not possibly shake off. The effect of all that was, that even when monopoly and slavery were at their zenith—when even the sugar of our own oriental dominions was not allowed to compete with theirs on the same level—even then, petted as they were by the laws of England, the West Indies were continually coming to the government of the country with the most doleful lamentations. That state of things was the legacy which slavery and monopoly had left behind them; and then, when the price of sugar suddenly fell to less than one-half what it had been a few years before, the effect was precisely analogous to that of the famine in Ireland. The proprietors were thrown into deep distress. All society was unhinged. The crash was terrible. But there, as in our sister country, the consequence was that the ownership of the soil changed hands. It passed from those who were absentees, drowned in debt; it came into the hands of those who were, for the most part, resident, and free from those trammels. And now, what was the result? The result was, that although labor was still free, that although trade was still free, or rather, he would say, because labor was free, and because trade was free, the West Indies were now rising to a pitch of wealth and happiness unknown to them before. It would be impossible for him to lay before the House the immense mass of evidence which demonstrated that fact. He was assured of it by mercantile men; he found it strongly set forth in the reports from the governors of the islands, which used to be full of dismay, and were now bright with cheerfulness and hope; but the keystone of the arch consisted of the statistics furnished by the Board of Trade, which showed that the imports and exports together of the West Indies and Guiana had amounted in the four years ending with 1853 to £32,500,000, and in the four years ending with 1857 to £37,000,000, an increase of £4,500,000 in the four years; and further, that the annual exports of sugar, coffee, cotton, rum and cocoa had greatly increased of late years. So much had been said of the ruinous state of these islands that perhaps the House would be surprised to learn that the exports from Great Britain to the West Indies in 1857 exceeded her exports, in that year, to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, the Azores, Madeira and Morocco, all combined. Or perhaps it would give a more vivid idea of the value to us of these islands if he mentioned that our exports to them in 1857 equalled our exports to the Channel Islands, Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Mauritius, the Gold Coast, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and what are called our sundry possessions, all together. Considering what mere specks the West Indies look in the map of America, it was astonishing that their trade to and fro should now actually amount to £10,735,000. That was the value of their commerce in the year 1857. He would only add that in 1857 the value of the sugar imported into this country from our West Indies amounted to £5,618,000. Surely all this demonstrated that free labor was holding its own in spite of the competition of slavery. Probably it would be said that all this was mainly due to the immigrants. In the last five years 25,000 immigrants had come to all our West Indies, including a large number of women and children. It was altogether absurd to imagine that this great prosperity was owing to the labors of those few thousand men, and, in fact, the islands which had not received immigrants were quite as flourishing as those that had. Clearly, then, our West Indies were possessions of immense and increasing value. The Committee might inquire, however briefly, into this point, and report to the country whether it was true or not that free labor and free trade were bringing about a great prosperity. He was aware that this proposal would meet with strong resistance, for he had often noticed that nothing so vexed a West Indian gentleman as to be told that he was well off. And as those gentlemen had a great and legitimate influence with the Colonial-office, no doubt the right hon. baronet opposite would appeal to the severely practical mind of this House, and would put the question, "Supposing the hon. member for Newport obtains this conclusion from the Committee, what will he do with it?" But as the people of this country laid out £20,000,000 in emancipating our slaves, and as that great deed was not, as some said, the work of a few philanthropists, but was done by the whole people with all their heart and soul, it would be of some value to learn, upon the authority of a Committee of that House, what was the result of that great experiment. And if the Committee inquired at all into the state of the West Indies, he hoped they would inquire into the condition of the negroes. Interested parties described them as barbarous and idle. He found ample evidence to prove that they were living in a high degree of comfort and industry, though he admitted that they somewhat preferred working on the freeholds they had purchased to laboring for hire.

MAZZINI ON AMERICAN SLAVERY

THE following letter from Mazzini was received a few days ago by the principal of a private school in the vicinity of New York:

LONDON, March 21, 1859.

DEAR SIR: I beg to apologize for being so late in acknowledging the receipt of $112.09, subscribed by you and others at the end of the lecture delivered at your institution by my friend, Mm. Jessie M. White Mario, toward our Italian school, &c.

I am very much pleased at my honored friend's first success and response to her efforts in the United States, coming from Young America, to whom Young Italy looks for sympathy and support in her approaching struggle, and my thanks are the thanks of all the members, both teachers and pupils, of our Italian school.

We are fighting the same sacred battle for freedom and the emancipation of the oppressed—you, sir, against *negro*, we against *white* slavery. The cause is truly identical; for, depend upon it, the day in which we shall succeed in binding to one freely accepted pact twenty-six millions of Italians, we shall give, what we cannot now, an active support to the cause you pursue. We are both the servants of the God who says before Me there is no Master, no Slave, no Man, no Woman, but only Human Nature, which must be everywhere responsible, therefore free.

May God bless your efforts and ours! May the day soon arise in which the word *bondage* will disappear from our living languages, and only point out a historical record! And, meanwhile, let the knowledge that we, all combatants under the same flag, do, through time and space, commune in love and faith, strengthen one another against the unavoidable suffering which we must meet on the way. Believe me, my dear sir,

Very gratefully yours, JOSEPH MAZZINI.

THE POSITION OF WISCONSIN.

From The Evening Post.

BY the course of events, the new and remote State of Wisconsin has become the flag-bearer in the great struggle for the restoration of constitutional liberty and the rights of the States. It is the first of the States to put into practical exercise, by all departments of its government, the inherent right of a State to protect its citizens and their property against unconstitutional usurpations by the Federal government. The State has nobly assumed the prerogative of knowing its rights and daring to maintain them against the encroachments of each and every branch of the Federal government—Congress, President and Judges. This position is taken deliberately, with reiterated purpose, concurred in by the executive, legislative and judiciary departments, and ratified over and over again by the people at the polls. Its representatives in both houses of Congress are all chosen on the same basis, and its vote in the Presidential election will undoubtedly be cast on the same principle. The question which Wisconsin has thus put in issue bids fair to be tried out to an end; and if Wisconsin is right, and will persevere, there can be no doubt as to the final result, because the right is sure to prevail, if not deserted by its friends.

At the recent Republican festival in Boston, commemorative of Jefferson's birthday, a speech was made by Carl Schurtz, of Milwaukee, who came, as he said, with the smoke and dust of the battle still on him, from the last election in that State, when this great question was distinctly put in issue by both parties, and the lines were clearly drawn, and the people, by an overwhelming majority, declared that they will hold the Federal government strictly within the powers delegated to it by the Constitution. He said:

"Let me tell you what the meaning of our recent victory is. The people of Wisconsin mean to stand by the Constitution, but by the Constitution as the great bulwark of human liberty, and as the safeguard of State Rights. The meaning of that victory is that, under the laws of that State, administered by upright judges, in the language of Jefferson, every man shall be protected against every exercise of unconstitutional powers. It means that the *habeas corpus* shall secure every man against everything which is not law, whatever shape it shall assume. It means further that the trial by jury in all questions of personal liberty shall be vouchsafed to every man, woman, or child, white or black, alien or native, anything in the Fugitive Slave act or any other usurpation of constitutional powers to the contrary notwithstanding."

The history of the case will show that there is no room for mistake as to the position of Wisconsin. A citizen of the State, Sherman M. Booth, editor of the oldest daily paper in the State, was arrested and imprisoned, and sentenced by the United States courts for a violation of the Webster and Fillmore act in regard to fugitives from slavery. Believing that the enactments under which he was convicted were unauthorized by the Constitution, and therefore not binding on him, he appealed to the authorities of his State to protect him in his person and property; and the Supreme Court of Wisconsin, after solemn argument by the ablest counsel, decided in his favor, liberated him from jail, and restored to him his property. An attempt was made by the United States officers to carry the case by appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, as to a court of higher jurisdiction. But the Supreme Court of Wisconsin took the ground that, on such a question, its own decisions were final, denied the right of the Federal courts to examine or reverse these decisions, and ordered its clerks not to certify any copy of its proceedings to the Supreme Court at Washington for such a purpose. The latter tribunal, however, having surreptitiously obtained a copy of the Wisconsin Court record, procured and certified on some false and fraudulent pretence, availed itself of so mean a trick, and gravely proceeded to reverse the proceedings of the State Court, and set them aside as void. The Legislature of Wisconsin instantly adopted a series of resolves to maintain their rights. And there the case stands.

Just at this point came on the State election for the choice of a Judge of the Supreme Court, one of those whose firmness is to preserve or whose cowardice is to betray the rights of the State and of all the States in this great conflict. To make the issue more unmistakable, the Republican candidate was Byron Paine, who had been Booth's counsel in the great argument before the Supreme Court of the State; while the candidate of the slavery party was the law partner of the

ful scandal in the eyes of the nations of Europe. The Romish Church of the present day is seeking to wash itself clean from the reproach of having ever favored slavery.

No doubt there exist in Europe vicious and anti-Christian institutions. Far from denying it, we hasten to acknowledge it with humiliation. But we pray God to remove them whilst we work to attain this end; and we shall be always happy to see you join your efforts with ours. But we beseech you to labor also incessantly to banish from the United States a vice that brings outrageous scandal on Christianity, which many accuse us of complicity therein, on account of your religious profession.

We close, entreating you, well-beloved brethren, not to despise the word of exhortation which we have taken the liberty of addressing to you; and praying earnestly to the Lord that He would not permit the wondrous awakening which the Holy Spirit is working in the midst of you to cease until it has made of all Americans, and of all the inhabitants of the earth, free men—enfranchised from social slavery, and from the slavery of sin.

Accept, dear brethren, the assurance of our sincere devotedness. For the administrative Committee, and by its order,

LEONARD ANET,
Sec'y of the Belgium Christian Missionary Church.

Brussels, February 1st, 1859.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 30, 1859.

CORRESPONDENTS will greatly oblige us by a careful observance of the following directions, viz.:

Letters enclosing matter for publication, or relating in any way to the editorial conduct of the paper, should be addressed, "*Editor of the Anti-Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York.*"

Letters enclosing subscriptions, or relating in any way to the business of the office, should be addressed, "*Publisher of the Anti Slavery Standard, No. 5 Beekman street, New York.*"

REMOVAL.—The Office of THE STANDARD has been removed to the Park Bank Building (adjoining Lovejoy's Hotel), No. 5 Beekman Street. Our friends, after ascending the broad stairs to the second story, cannot fail to discover our sign—

ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD,

in large letters, on the first right-hand door.

ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held in the City of NEW YORK, in the CITY ASSEMBLY ROOMS, 448 Broadway, on TUESDAY, May 10th, commencing at 10 o'clock, a. m., and continued, by adjournment, at the same place, on TUESDAY evening, and WEDNESDAY forenoon and afternoon.

The sublime and beneficent object for which this Society was organized yet remains to be fully consummated. No matter how numerous the difficulties, how formidable the obstacles, how many the foes to be vanquished, slavery must cease to pollute and curse the land. No matter whether that event be near or remote, whether the taskmaster willingly or unwillingly relinquish his arbitrary power, whether by a peaceful or a bloody process, slavery must die. No matter though, to effect it, every party should be torn by dissensions, every sect dashed into fragments, the national compact dissolved, still, slavery must be abolished. If the State cannot survive the Anti-Slavery agitation, then let the State perish. If the Church must be cast down by the strugglings of Humanity to be free, then let the Church fall. If the Union cannot be maintained, except by immolating human freedom on the altar of a bloody tyranny, then let the Union be dissolved. If the Republic must be blotted out from the roll of nations, by proclaiming liberty to the enslaved, then let the Republic sink beneath the waves of oblivion, and a shout of joy, louder than the voice of many waters, fill the universe at its extinction. Against this declaration none but traitors and tyrants will raise an outcry. It is the mandate of Heaven, and the voice of God. It has righteousness for its foundation, reason for its authority, and truth for its support. It is simply asserting the supremacy of right over wrong, of liberty over oppression, of God over man.

There must be no compromise with slavery—none whatever. Nothing is gained, every thing is lost, by subordinating principle to expediency. The spirit of freedom must be inexorable in its demand for the instant release of all who are groaning in bondage, nor abate one jot or tittle of its righteous claims. By one remorseless grasp, the rights of humanity have been taken away; and by one strong blow, the iron hand of usurpation must be made to relinquish its murderous grasp. The Slave Power cannot be conquered by compromise, stratagem, or bribery. Its dying throes will convulse the land. The conflict admits of no parley. No flag of truce must be sent or received; no quarter must be given or taken.

Animated by these sentiments, let there come up to this anniversary a large and spirited gathering of the members and friends of his Society, resolved upon a fresh consecration and still more effective efforts to accomplish their mighty undertaking.

A strong array of able and eloquent speakers may be expected on the occasion. [Particulars hereafter.]

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *President.*

SYDNEY H. GAY, WENDELL PHILLIPS, } *Secretaries.*

THE ANNIVERSARY.

WE trust it is not necessary to remind our readers, everywhere, who receive the philosophy and the method of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that its Annual Assembly will be holden in this city in about ten days from the date of this paper. And we hope that they will not be unmindful of the injunction of the Apostle—"not forsaking the assembling of yourselves together, as the manner of some is; but exhorting one another, and so much the more as ye see the day approaching." The importance of these assemblings of ourselves together is not likely to be denied by any Abolitionist, inasmuch as it has been the method of our warfare from the beginning and its efficacy testified unto by the success which has attended our agitation hitherto. There is more danger of men's saying to themselves that it is of no consequence whether we go up to this Yearly Feast or not, this year—for will there not be enough to counsel and to act without us?—forgetting that the strength of the faggot depends on the aggregate of the many sticks and not on the size or weight of each one in particular. While every Abolitionist should be careful not to think more highly of himself than he ought to think, he should not fail, on the other hand, to remember that his sympathy, counsel and contribution is an offering due from him to the Cause, for his own sake as well as that of the common object. We trust, therefore, that we shall see a numerous gathering of Abolitionists, true and tried men and women, from all parts of the country, where any opposition to slavery is permitted. The advantages arising from the meeting, face to face, of persons engaged in a common public duty, but in widely different spheres of activity, cannot be overstated. It is essential to the existence and maintenance of a Moral Movement aiming to remove a public mischief by acting on the opinions, the sympathies and the passions of the popular mind.

These Anniversaries are justly interesting to the philosophical observer of contemporary history as monuments marking the flow of the tide of public events. They who are old enough in years and in grace to have attended them for the last twenty years cannot fail to look back to the series with feelings of the liveliest interest, as they recall the varying circumstances of the country and of the Cause—the constantly changing front of the enemy and the incessant vigilance and untiring zeal which it was necessary to oppose to its advances. In two decades and a half of incessant political change the American Anti-Slavery Society has been the only institution unshaken and unswerving. Its adversaries have taken new shapes and have sought out fresh devices; but the American Anti-Slavery Society has pursued its unwavering line of action and adhered to its original philosophy. The Whigs, which we have seen grow up great enough to grasp the reins of empire twice and dispute them often, have been scattered by the power of Anti-Slavery truth to the four winds of heaven. The Democratic party has been compelled by the same superior force to divest itself of all its old traditions and high-swelling pretensions and acknowledge itself the simple slave of Slavery—the hewer of its wood and the drawer of its water. The Republican party, which has grown up out of the disintegration of the old Liberty party, the Whig party and what was honestest in the Democracy, has received all its strength and its hope from the belief in well-meaning minds that it is an Anti-Slavery party. It has tried, and will try yet again, to stand only on the defensive, and to profess a readiness to let the slaveholder do what he will with his slaves, if he will but let themselves alone. As if he could! But the only hope and strength of the party lies in the faith of its rank and file that the object of the campaign is better and broader than that laid down in the proclamation that opens it. If it so conduct its affairs as to make this belief impossible to entertain, its utter and unlamented destruction is sure. But from its ruin a party will inevitably arise of which the utter extinction of slavery, peaceably or forcibly, by the Constitution or over it, will be the beginning and the end, the soul and the body.

During all this incessant turmoil and revolution the American Anti-Slavery Society has maintained its wise position of observation, of criticism, of protest. Standing in an attitude of unmistakable indifference and disinterestedness, having no self-ends or personal objects to pursue, with none to care for but the slave, and entirely willing that his deliverance should come from any quarter of the political or religious horizon, every year has borne the record of its sagacity and its fidelity. It has been faithful in condemning wickedness in high places and in low places, in Church and in State, in parties professing to have a leaven of Anti-Slavery in their political kneading-troughs, as well as in that which glories in its very emptiness of all such virtuous ingredients and boasts of its poverty and its shame. And the Society has been justified by its results. It has made Slavery the one topic of men's thoughts and talk, in public and in private, in the Church and in the Senate Chamber. It has been the occasion of a mighty rectification of the popular mind as to this matter. The rights and wrongs of the question, the relative positions of the North and South, of Free and Slave Labor, have been brought home to millions of minds which dwelt in hereditary prejudice and almost judicial blindness. The heart and mind of the Nation is far enough yet from a normal condition, both are deplorably lacking in right feeling, sound judgment and wise resolution; but the day of utter darkness and hopeless indifference is over; a cranny has been found in "the soul's dark cottage, battered and decayed," through which the light of truth has found a way, and, having found one, will never cease its healthful visitation till it has done its purifying work. The business of the Society is to persist in the course which has informed hundreds of newspapers—some of them the most widely circulated in the land—with a measure, more or less, of Anti-Slavery ideas, and which has even compelled multitudes of Churches to take a qualified, and a few an absolute, attitude of resistance to slavery, as the deadliest enemy of God and man. And this is, simply, the trying of all men and measures by the test of their own acknowledged first principles, and stating publicly how they have stood it.

But the time for writing the history of the Anti-Slavery Movement is not yet. We are even now in the midst of it, and it is our business to make rather than to record it. The American State and Church are yet striving after methods for keeping their control over the North without losing their hold upon the South. It is one of the just boasts of the Anti-Slavery Movement that it has made this hypocrisy necessary—that it has compelled this homage of vice to virtue. We are to continue steadfast in the faith and in the works which have been rewarded with this modest measure of opening success. The public mind is more and more ready to receive the impression of our ideas, as year pursues year and discloses the designs of Slavery and the ravishing strides with which it stalks toward them. Every year's culture of this field of the world which the Lord of the Vineyard has appointed us to till and dress makes the task an easier one. We cannot indeed yet look back from the plough to which we have set our hands and exult over the accomplishment of our work, but we may thank God for the strength which has been according to our day and take courage in the knowledge of the measure of blessing which has waited upon us. The soil is not yet ready for the golden harvest with which it is yet to laugh and to make glad the hearts of God and men. It is well, therefore, for the laborers in this vineyard to meet together at stated times to consider their position, to see what they have done and to consult as to the best means of completing what they have begun. Such gatherings are necessary, and not merely convenient and pleasant, and their value is often in proportion to the numbers, always in proportion to the devotion to the work, of those that meet in council. The present time is, as the present always must be, the most important crisis we have had to meet. It is the heir of all the past and the parent of the future. Such a meeting as that of the 10th of May should bring together, if not a mass meeting, at least a representative one of all parts of the country, prepared to tell of the wants of their respective districts, to advise as to the best way of meeting them, and, above all, to provide the ways and means for carrying on the work. The sword of the spirit needs sinews for the warfare it is to maintain as well as the sword of steel. These sinews, and the spirit that is to inform and inspire them, must necessarily be supplied by those who desire this battle to be fought and won.

As the aggressive spirit of Slavery grows more and more rampant from year to year, so the aggressive spirit of Anti-Slavery must wax hot and earnest to encounter it. The strife between these two warring principles can have but one ending, but it must be maintained and deepened or the ending will come of other hands than ours. The battle, though often baffled, must be won at last, but it will only be after long and hard fighting, and so it behooves us not to hold back the edge of the sword. This spirit of constant resistance to slavery and rebellion against its tyranny can only be maintained and increased by the action of mind on mind, the attrition of heart on heart. This we endeavor to create and to keep up by popular meetings for the discussion of the relations of slavery to the slaves and to ourselves, in various portions of the country. It is hardly too much to say that nothing but the lack of means and men to take up the North by the four corners and shake its pro-slavery wickedness out of it has prevented the Abolition of Slavery ere now. When we see how much has been done with the almost infinitesimal supplies of money and the handful of agents, compared with the immensity of the country, we feel that we speak within bounds when we say that a faithful and thorough canvassing of the country—such as is given for partisan or sectarian purposes—would have produced a change in public feeling at the North which would not have endured any longer connection with slavery, and would thus have sealed its fate. The result will ultimately be the same, only the time of its fulfilment must be deferred through this lameness of instrumentalities. It is to be brought about only by that "rub-a-dub agitation" which Mr. Webster denounced and which all selfish politicians and prostituted priests hate and fear. And it is to provide the means for this pestilent disturbance of comfortable wickedness that such meetings as the one soon to ensue are necessary, and thence it is that the importance arises for the attendance of all who can attend of those who are of one mind as to this matter. The practical centrality of New York, the facility and comparative cheapness of reaching this city from all parts of the country, make it the proper place for such a National gathering. We trust that it may be worthy to be called a National gathering from the number and character of those that will come up to it. No ordinary impediments should be allowed to prevent the attendance of those in sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society to whom attendance is possible. It must needs be an occasion of great interest at the time and of enduring influence upon the future.

THE TRIAL OF DANIEL SICKLES, M. C., for the murder of Philip Barton Key, has ended, as everybody expected it would, in the acquittal of the prisoner. The case affords, in all its aspects, a most instructive illustration of American morals and American law. The proofs of the murder were "strong as Holy Writ," and the provocation thereto, however strong, afforded no legal ground of justification; and yet the Jury, virtually by the direction of the Court, pronounced the culprit "not guilty." The trial, from first to last, was a judicial farce. If the crime of Key was shocking, that of Sickles was not less so, while the simulation of indignant virtue on the part of the latter cannot appear otherwise than disgusting to one who knows anything of his previous life. We cannot regard the acquittal of Sickles as a proof of a healthy public indignation against the seducer and a vindication of the natural sanctities of the family and the home, in a community where the sale of women upon the auction-block, for purposes of prostitution, is not only tolerated, but shamelessly defended.

DISGRACE AVERTED.—The Empire State has been saved from the disgrace and guilt of breaking the neck of a woman upon the gallows. The counsel of Mrs. Hartung, after every other resource had failed, got a stay of proceedings by writ of error, and it is probable that she will have a new trial, and be either acquitted or pronounced guilty of manslaughter and imprisoned for life.

ANTI-TOBACCO TRACTS.—Rev. George Trask, of Fitchburg, Mass., has published a series of Anti-Tobacco Tracts, written expressly for Youth, in schools and elsewhere. They are admirably adapted to their object, and may be obtained in quantities on application to Mr. Trask.

THE OBERLIN RESCUE TRIALS.

JUDGE WILSON, after the conviction of Bushnell, was bent upon trying the other accused parties before the same Jury! The counsel for the prisoners insisted that this would be an outrage upon justice, and boldly declared that, if the Court concluded to take this course, it might proceed with the farce as soon as it chose, for they would not call a single witness, nor open their mouths for the defence! This defiant attitude of the counsel for the "felons" had the desired effect—the Judge backed square down, and Marshal Johnson was ordered to empannel a new Jury for the trial of C. H. Langston. The Marshal being a stranger in Cleveland, and therefore unable to select the "good Democrats" from the crowd in the Court House, procured the aid of one Bob Brownell, who perched himself behind the Clerk's desk for that purpose, the two critically discussing in an undertone the "soundness on the goose" of each person proposed for a juryman. Unluckily for the secresy of this affair, the "good Democrats" became few in the court-room, and at last Bob B. was himself a candidate for a juror, and, being closely questioned, told the whole story and was excused, though not without several speeches, in which he urged his right to a seat in the jury-box. The Marshal extended the area of his operations, finally the number was made up, and the trial proceeded. The Cleveland *Plaindealer* of the 22d says:

"Yesterday the naps of the sleepers were disturbed by the appearance of a Deputy Sheriff of Lorain County, who took his seat within the Bar, and beside Jennings and Mitchell, witnesses from Kentucky, and informed them *he had a warrant for them to appear before the County Court of Lorain County, to answer a charge of kidnapping one 'John' out of Oberlin, with a view of taking him South.* The Clerk of the Federal Court was required to issue a warrant for the arrest and detention of said Jennings and Mitchell as witnesses, which was duly served and returned before the hour of adjournment, and said Jennings and Mitchell, for want of bail, were taken into custody by the Marshal."

The *Herald* says: "For a time there was great fear a collision might occur between officers. The Deputy Sheriff of Lorain had assistants who were men of mettle, and the presence of the late Chief of Police and a large body of interested spectators showed that the Marshal had provided, beforehand, for any emergency. It is said he had fifty men in the room, to be used, if necessary, as special bailiffs. It looked ominous for a time, and the Kentucky witnesses were evidently thankful they had no bail to offer, and could be committed to the keeping of the Marshal."

Simeon Bushnell, after his conviction, was committed by the Court to the custody of the Sheriff of Cuyahoga County. The correspondent of *The Tribune*, writing under date of April 22d, says:

"This morning, S. A. Abbey, one of the bailiffs of United States Marshal Johnson, appeared at the County Jail, in which the Oberlin prisoners are confined, and requested Sheriff Wightman to allow Simeon Bushnell, the prisoner who was first tried, and who has been convicted, but not sentenced, to accompany him for a few moments, as he was wanted in the court-room. The Sheriff, supposing that he was wanted for the purpose of receiving his sentence, complied with the request, and accompanied them. On arriving opposite the door of the United States Marshal's rooms, which they had to pass in order to reach the Court room, another of the Marshal's bailiffs invited Bushnell into the room, saying that the Marshal wished to see him. On entering, the key was instantly turned, and Bushnell was a prisoner.

The Cleveland *Leader* of Saturday says:

"Yesterday, Marshal Johnson demanded of the Sheriff the mittimus on which Bushnell had been held by him. The Sheriff very properly retained it for his own safety, as it required an order of Court to take Bushnell from his custody legally. The jail-room of Bushnell was guarded by bailiffs yesterday and last night, though the Marshal had had the test of every possible assurance that Mr. Bushnell had no desire to escape. Mrs. B. is permitted to share his imprisonment, which she does with a true woman's devotion to one who is persecuted for no other crime but obeying the Golden Rule of doing unto others as ye would that they should do unto you. Mrs. Peck, Mrs. Fitch, Mrs. Plumb, and other noble women of Oberlin, also cheer the prisoners by their presence. Just at evening Marshal Johnson visited Bushnell, and, trembling with excitement, professed much regret that the District-Attorney would not consent to his return to the County Jail, a boon for which he claimed to have labored. This was adding unnecessary insult to injury."

The counsel for the prisoners applied in their behalf to the Supreme Court of Ohio, sitting at Columbus, for a *habeas corpus*. The argument on this application was heard on Monday, but the decision had not been announced at the date of our latest advices from Columbus. We hope, but with trembling, that the Court will follow the precedent set by Wisconsin, and, in defiance of the National Government, set the prisoners at liberty.

LIGHT ON EUROPEAN AFFAIRS.

NOTHING is more difficult for an American or an Englishman to find out than the real state of public feeling and opinion on the continent of Europe. What with royal and imperial censorship and diotation, the interests of politics and trade, the hired street acclamations, the home temptations to supply home journals with what they demand in support of their line of policy, the foreign temptations to servility (than which *nothing* under a despotism is better paid), the dangerous half-knowledge of the languages, the rarity of admission into reliable circles, and of winning their confidence when once installed, since to give it on matters of state concern is to run a fearful risk—what with all these things and the impossibility a man trained in constitutional ideas is under of comprehending how far from the truth is a muzzled press, there is little chance for a stranger on the continent of Europe. He goes from Dan to Beersheba—to find all fertile—exactly like the stranger in America from Mason and Dixon's line to New Orleans; unable to refuse credence to respectable newspapers (so-called) under state necessity of making things appear other than they are. In Paris, he takes up, for example, *The Siecle*, and reads as follows:

"It would be very easy to ascertain whether the real public opinion does not imperiously demand the triumph of French interests over Austrian interests. Let an appeal be made to the nation; let, for instance, the Legislative Corps be dissolved, and it would be seen, provided the electoral field were left free, that not a deputy would be elected without having made a clear and candid profession of faith in favor of Italy against Austria. Or let a plebiscitum be submitted to the French people—who after all is sovereign—to ascertain whether it desires that Italy should be abandoned; its reply would be unanimous. It is our duty to prevent error from being spread without contradiction. In the name of our country we protest against those who seek to falsify public opinion. The country is entirely in favor of the emancipation of Italy and of the humiliation of Austria. At the proper moment it would prove this by its energy and sacrifices; it would not contradict its entire history for the pleasure of a few Bourse speculators, of a few religious fanatics, and of the two or three survivors of the various systems of policy to which France has successively been subjected."

How is the unsuspecting Englishman or American to know that this is all done at the dictation of Imperial despotism? Just as, in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* and the Boston *Bee* and *Atlas*, one may read the dictation of Southern despotism, that there is no need in Massachusetts and New York of a legislative prohibition of slave-hunting in those States, because men are to be found there willing to act humanely under the existing inhuman legislation which threatens common humanity with fine and imprisonment, as if it were crime.

Having given our readers as above, the enforced *pro-slavery*, as we may call it, of a European journal, we now refer them to our columns of Foreign Correspondence for the real statement of the case, which shows the French despot playing his game exactly like the American one, in the name of liberty. Buchanan crying out for Cuba, in order to suppress the slave trade, is the exact *pendant*.

FAILURE OF THE LIBERTY BILL.

ALBANY, N. Y., April 25, 1859.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

As you announced last week, the Legislature, for several months past in session here, and the theatre of frequent, earnest and, in some instances, able and ultra debates upon the slavery question, adjourned without a vote upon the Personal Liberty bill in the Senate. The Senate was lamentably deficient in men of even ordinary spinal calibre, among the Republicans, to say nothing of the pro-slavery, drunken "Democratic" members—one of whom, since the adjournment, died at Congress Hall, it is said of *delirium tremens*. If, therefore, the session had been prolonged, it is not probable that the bill, even as modified and passed in the Assembly, would have been adopted in the Senate.

You will have noticed Senator Diven's report upon the bill, and resolution "that the bill ought not to pass," which appeared in full on Saturday last. It is highly conservative, intensely "patriotic," emanates from a leading Republican, and is especially deserving a place in the "Pro-Slavery" department of THE STANDARD.

The stringency of the bill having been modified, it is doubtless well that it is not to find a place upon the statute book. The question is left in a good condition for the renewed effort which must be made next autumn and winter.

Our friends here, and all with whom I have met, are much gratified with the auspicious beginning which has been made in the good work, and that with little or no systematic and organized effort on the part of the friends of the measure.

I trust that at an early period an arrangement may be made which will secure a systematic and thorough coöperation of friends throughout the State in reiterating the demand to be made upon the next Legislature for the unqualified prohibition of slave-hunting upon our soil.

A. M. P.

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Providence, R. I., on Thursday and Friday, 21st and 22d, was a meeting of much interest, well attended, and by persons of weight and character, and of deserved moral and social influence in the State where they reside. I think you will be glad to lay before your readers some account of it, and, having had the privilege to attend it, I will venture to send you such an account. I may premise that you will find in the Providence papers the usual brief reports of the meetings; and of all I saw, *The Journal*, *Tribune* and *Post*, I saw none of the sneers and vulgar wit with which city reporters, in past years, have thought it consistent with their own dignity and manners to vent against the meetings called in behalf of freedom and the rights of the enslaved millions in our land.

The Convention met in Franklin Hall, on Thursday, April 21, and organized by the choice of the following officers:

President—Dr. Peleg Clarke, of Coventry.

Vice-Presidents—Benjamin H. Wilbur, Asa Fairbanks, Francis B. Peckham and Darius P. Lawton.

Secretaries—David F. Thorp, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase.

A Business Committee was appointed consisting of the following persons: Samuel May, Jr., C. C. Burleigh, Mrs. Elizabeth B. Chase, Mrs. Anna T. Fairbanks, Dunbar B. Harris, E. Heywood, Effingham L. Capron, George T. Downing, Wendell Phillips and Miss Phebe Jackson.

Likewise a Finance Committee, consisting of A. R. Janes, Miss Sallie Holley and Miss Anthony, of Coventry.

Mrs. Sophia L. Little, of Newport, arose in the audience, and offered a brief but impressive prayer.

The morning session was occupied chiefly by addresses from E. H. Heywood and Samuel May, Jr., and by a discussion which sprung up therefrom. In the course of his remarks Mr. May referred to the fact that the Rhode Island Consociation of Congregational Ministers, a few years since, at their annual meeting, invited two clergymen, Drs. Rice and Poor, representing the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (Old and New School), to administer for them the rite of the Lord's Supper. This was mentioned as illustrating the social and religious countenance given to slaveholders and slavery by men at the North. If, said Mr. May, this Consociation professes to be opposed to slavery, then their invitation to these representatives of the two most determined pro-slavery bodies in the land convicts them of hypocrisy, and their professions are worthless. Rev. S. Wolcott, of Providence, who was present, but, as he said, "not as a member of the Convention," called in question the correctness of Mr. May's statement, and represented it as a specimen of "the wholesale assertions and denunciations of the Abolitionists." He said that Drs. Rice and Poor were not "slaveholders," and, moreover, had not been "invited *by the Consociation*" to administer the rite; although, said Mr. W., I think they might properly have been thus invited, and I should be ready to invite them to my own pulpit. This statement caused some surprise, as it is known that Mr. Wolcott has taken an independent and Christian stand, on many occasions, in regard to slavery in and out of the Church; but, as these men were not actual holders of slaves, and held opinions claimed to be adverse to slavery, Mr. W. thought he could consistently so act, and he characterized Mr. May's charge of "hypocrisy" as wholly unjustifiable. Mr. May replied that all the facts he had charged appeared to be admitted by Mr. Wolcott; that, if not actually invited by the Consociation to administer the rite, the Consociation had made themselves fully responsible by receiving these delegates of slaveholding and pro-slavery bodies to sit in their meetings, thereby extending religious fellowship to the Presbyterian Church, Old and New School, and by their presence and uniting in the celebration of the rite. Mr. Wolcott stated that an effort had been made by him, as early as 1853, to induce the Consociation to decline sending delegates to any religious body which tolerates slaveholding, but the Consociation had postponed it from year to year. Recently it had adopted a resolution (not the one which he wished) which might be regarded, he thought, as anti-slavery. Rev. Mr. Conklin said he also understood the action of the Consociation to be anti-slavery. C. C. Burleigh inquired as to the precise character of that action. Mr. Wolcott was not sure that the resolution (refusing to send delegates to slaveholding bodies) had been adopted. Mr. Conklin thought it had *not* been adopted; and said that he had, at the time, felt such strong objections to the selection of Messrs. Rice and Poor, to administer the Lord's Supper, that he had himself turned from the house, and refrained from participating in it.

At the opening of the afternoon, Mr. May, from the Business Committee, reported resolutions as follows:

Resolved, That the full and faithful proclamation of the whole truth of God, with regard to American slavery, is the imperative duty of every friend of freedom, and was never more a duty than it is at this day; that all compromise and temporizing should be shunned, as full of peril to the people and to the cause of liberty; and that no present, partial and temporary success should be sought at the expense of that vital truth and thorough principle by which alone the right can ever become victorious over the wrong.

Resolved, That our anti-slavery shafts are not levelled at the "Church of Christ," but against the "American Church," between which two Churches there is all the difference that there is between good and evil. The former denounces while the latter apologizes for and upholds slavery.

Resolved, That the South is emboldened in its advocacy of slavery, not only in the South, but in Kansas, Oregon and other places, because of a lack of consistency on the part of the North in proscribing and depressing, as does this State, the colored men of the same; that when this and other Northern States shall act consistently in all their relations to all their citizens, irrespective of color, then will their moral weight against slavery tell.

Resolved, That the State of Rhode Island, notwithstanding section 4, art. 1, of its Constitution declares that "slavery shall not be permitted in this State," is nevertheless a pro-slavery State, because it tolerates and maintains slavery within its borders, by depressing and virtually enslaving a portion of its citizens because of their color, in the matter of public education.

Resolved, That the silence of the Church in the State on this subject, as well as upon slavery in other States as an evil immediately to be put down, without compromise, Constitution or no Constitution, is but evidence of the hypocrisy of the Church in claiming to be the Church of Christ.

Resolved, whether the Fugitive Slave law be constitutional or unconstitutional, whether the United States Constitution be pro-slavery or anti-slavery, that the presence of any person of any race or color in the State of Rhode Island shall be an irrevocable title to freedom, and that on no consideration shall the land of Roger Williams ever again be desecrated by the polluting foot of the slave-hunter.

Resolved, That is is an important part of the work of the true Church of Christ to preach in word and life the gospel of deliverance to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound, and the Church which refuses to do this testifies to its own deviation from the example of Jesus and its unworthiness of the name of Christian.

Resolved, That holding a man as property—in other words, sustaining the relation of master to a slave, as that relation is defined in the American slave codes—is a flagrant violation of the Christian law; and, therefore, the Church which is the pillar and ground of truth can give, in deed or doctrine, no support to the falsehood that "the legal relation" of master and slave is not necessarily at variance with Christian duty.

Resolved, That to *treat* slavery as sinful is quite as plain a duty as to *call* it so; and to hold religious fellowship with slaveholders or those who justify slaveholding is practically to deny the sinfulness of slavery, and is therefore to *act* a pernicious falsehood.

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Rev. C. Burleigh spoke to these resolutions with very great ability. The numbers present were greater than in the morning, and a deep interest was manifest. Mrs. Little, E. H. Heywood, and Rev. E. Scott, also spoke. Rev. Mr. Burdick, pastor of a Baptist Church in Westerly, made a brief but eloquent address, in course of which he paid a warm and generous tribute to Wm. Lloyd Garrison. This the Convention received with applause, and were evidently much pleased with the entire speech.

The follow resolution was introduced by Mr. May:

Resolved, That we have a painful proof how much harm the Republican party can do to the cause of liberty, when we see so many of its members opposing the Personal Liberty bills of the Legislatures of Massachusetts and New York and effecting the defeat of those bills; that we have seen, with both sorrow and indignation, the treachery of many prominent members of that party when this question of saving our Northern soil from the tread of the kidnapper was presented to them; and that we call upon all the anti-slavery members of the Republican party of Rhode Island to watch their leaders closely, and to suffer no such desertion of the cause of the slave (the cause equally of every freeman in the land) to disgrace the State.

The Convention then adjourned to 7 1-2 o'clock.

At the evening session, the hall was entirely filled, many standing throughout. Mr. May first addressed the Convention, principally on the resolution relating to the Republican party. He showed and rebuked the treachery of leading men of that party, in the matter of the late effort to secure anti-slave-hunting laws in Massachusetts and New York.

George T. Downing, of Newport, followed. He spoke on the question of the exclusion of colored children from the Public Schools of Rhode Island. He ably laid open the subject, and exposed the prejudice and meanness which had characterized the enemies of the colored people. He especially denounced the course which the Providence *Journal* had pursued, in reference to the rights of the colored people in the schools, as nothing less than *villainous*, edited though it be by a United States Senator, and ex-Governor of the State.

The speech of C. C. Burleigh, which followed, ought to have been reported in full. It was one of unusual ability and eloquence. Having spoken briefly of the effort making to secure an anti-slave law in Rhode Island, he passed to the "School" question, which he examined in all its bearings, conclusively showing the simple justice of the claims of the colored people of the State, and the utter meanness of the tyranny which withholds their rights from them. He particularly examined the position of the *Journal*, and of its editor; he proved him to be either an ignoramus with regard to the condition and facts of the Public Schools in neighboring States, or a wilful perverter of those facts. A more keen and trenchant piece of satire is seldom heard. The audience almost unanimously responded in frequent applause, and evidently considered both the rebuke and the ridicule, which for half an hour Mr. Burleigh dealt out upon his subject, richly merited by the man who uses his elevated, influential and responsible position to injure and insult the poor and defenceless.

On Friday morning, E. H. Heywood was the first speaker. He spoke of the need of a regenerated public sentiment, and exhorted to perseverance in the proclamation of the truth. He criticized the compromising position of the Republican party, in its support of a slave-holding government. "Does not Mr. Seward know," said he, "that, in spite of all his protests, his position in the government, hand in hand with the slaveholder, is the rivetting of the chain which now holds four millions of men in slavery?"

Rev. C. H. Malcom, of Newport, next took the platform, his presence in the Convention having been referred to by Mr. Heywood. After a modest opening, he said he had been obliged, within a short time, to bear his testimony against the great sin of the land—slavery—first in a slave State, and next (he was sorry to say) in a free State. But he would not dwell upon that, and passed on to consider those principles of Justice and Right, which are eternal and never change—principles, he said, so well expressed in the resolutions before the Convention, and which his friend, the previous speaker, had been so eloquently advocating this morning. He spoke of the fact that organizations and forms, to which we are dearly attached, may become ineffective, useless and even dead. Should we cling to such? Shall we not rather do as we do with the lifeless remains of a friend we have loved, bear it forth, sadly and tearfully, it may be, yet bear it forth, and lay it away among things that were? Let us not fear that the *truth* will die, when the form it has worn in another age no longer helps or pleases, but passes away and perishes. The truth is immortal, and will make to itself a new form, and will continually manifest itself anew to the heart of man. This is true equally of all ecclesiastical organizations. Of one of these, said Mr. M., I am still a member; yet maintaining there, I trust, however humbly, those eternal principles and truths which Jesus left to all his followers. I know the faults, the corruptions, if you will, of these bodies; and I say that if these sects shall fail to give us that which is best, if they shall fail to show us the Fatherhood of God, and the Brotherhood of Man, then we must put them aside, go beyond them and higher, and seek the Truth where it is living, elsewhere (much applause).

Mrs. Little contrasted the true and the false priesthood.

The following resolutions were reported:

Resolved, That we rejoice to know that petitions are in circulation in this State, asking for a law against slave-hunting in Rhode Island; also asking for a law forbidding the making of distinctions in the educational privileges of the children in this State, on account of sect, color or religious belief, and that we earnestly recommend to all citizens of Rhode Island, who love justice and believe in the principles of genuine Democracy, the signing of these petitions, and the use of their influence, in all proper ways, to ensure the attainment of the objects sought.

Resolved, That we caution the liberal public against giving any countenance or support to the "African Civilization Society," it being a deceptive son and auxiliary of that dying monster the "American Colonization Society."

Thomas Clark, of Hopkinton, R. I., was happy, for once in his life, to stand in a Convention where the worth of the human soul and the reliableness of human consciousness were recognized. He had little confidence in human priesthoods; but believed that God's true teacher and prophet was in the consciousness of every man's soul. He believed that this, when truly reached, would be always found unerring. Baal's priests, he said, are to be met at every corner, found in every ecclesiastical organization.

Rev. R. H. Conklin, of Providence, asserted his claim to the highest anti-slavery consistency and reputation. He intimated that the leading minds in the anti-slavery movement proper are so warped by an exclusive attention to the subject as not to be able to give time or thought to other subjects, such as Temperance, for instance (!). But I welcomed, he said, the coming of this Convention, as a whirlwind coming down on a Dead Sea of indifference and heartless disregard of human rights. President Humphrey once said, "Thank God for rash men." "Why so, sir?" "They are the men who have started about all the improvements which have ever been made in the world." It has been well said that two-thirds of the total depravity of the world is sheer laziness. Mr. C. thought the active and stirring methods of the Abolitionists might be forgiven, considering the awful amount of laziness and deadness all around us. He proceeded to advise those present that they should cease from the denunciation of the ecclesiastical bodies (!), the Republican party (!), and associations generally (!), and appeal more exclusively to individual hearts and consciences.

C. C. Burleigh replied briefly to some points in Mr. Conklin's (in the main, very good) speech. It seemed to Mr. B. very extraordinary that Mr. Conklin should have any censure for us for rebuking in *words* an act which he himself had previously rebuked in *act*, viz., the invitation of Drs. Rice and Poor to administer the sacrament of the Supper to the Rhode Island Consociation. As to the objection that the Abolitionists had no time or thoughts for other reforms, he showed how singularly the facts of the case failed to bear out Mr. Conklin's allegation; that in Temperance, Woman's Rights, Abolition of the Gallows, &c. &c. &c., the Abolitionists were always active. And as to the charge that we are eccentric, Mr. B. thought that so long as the great *centre* of every man's action is in the middle of his own selfish interests, we should desire to remain *ec*-centric; and are glad to know that Mr. Conklin in this respect coincides so nearly with us. Dr. Humphrey could never have thanked God for rash men if somebody had always stood at the rash man's elbow, to draw back the arm whenever lifted for action.

In the afternoon, Mr. May said he had waited through several sessions, in hope to see Rev. Mr. Wolcott again in the Convention. He could not delay longer the remarks he had to make, and asked the Convention's indulgence for a few moments in again bringing up the course of the Rhode Island Consociation of Ministers in the matter of Drs. Rice and Poor. He read from a pamphlet, of which Rev. Mr. Wolcott himself was the author—put into his (Mr. M.'s) hands by Mr. Wolcott himself—in which that gentleman argues earnestly and conclusively against sending delegates to ecclesiastical bodies such as the Presbyterian General Assemblies, until they be disconnected from slavery; and in which Mr. Wolcott says that both these bodies are making no effort to remove the obstacle—are taking no steps towards removing it—but are, on the contrary, "stationary or retrograde"; and declaring that "but one course is left by which we can separate ourselves from what is evil in the relation." With what propriety, said Mr. M., can Mr. Wolcott object to what was said here in condemnation of the Rhode Island Consociation in selecting for special honor the REPRESENTATIVES of those very two pro-slavery bodies, which he himself had declared to be so committed to the support of slavery that the only way of safety is to separate from them entirely! Surely it would seem that Mr. Wolcott is the man who should reconsider his speech in the Convention, and his own too hasty condemnation of the anti-slavery speakers! It is evident that they were only following out his own line of argument, condemning what he had condemned; but, in addition, condemning those too who, instead of ceasing from all connection with man-stealers, selected the representatives of those man-stealers to perform their

Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 25th.

A QUESTION has been raised as to the propriety of divulging, in this correspondence, the plans contemplated, during the late trial, for the rescue of the prisoner. What probable harm could such a revelation do? The whole affair was an open secret, to which the public had in some sort been admitted; and as the facts had been somewhat magnified, it was proper that they should be stated without exaggeration. The truth of history required it, and the policy which looks to consequences did not forbid it; on the contrary, a little reflection, as I think, will show that it was wise to let the people know in advance the cost and risk of money, trouble, life and public peace that must be incurred in the execution of this atrocious law. The natural effect, if it have any, will be to discourage the repetition of such disgraceful and dangerous experiments as we have just witnessed.

For it is not to be disguised that the people of Philadelphia, though law-abiding and Union-saving to a fault, will not submit in quietness to the enforcement of this revolting statute. The time past sufficeth them to have wrought the will of the slaveholders; their course hereafter in this regard is to be different. Peaceably if they can, forcibly if they must, a stop is to be put to this business of slave-catching. That this is the prevailing sentiment, among those who have any sentiment on the subject, will not be doubted by such as mixed in the throng during the late excitement, and listened to what was passing. Staid advocates of peace wanted to know, in case of an adverse decision from the Commissioner, if the man was to be passively surrendered. Quiet Quaker women demanded of groups of able-bodied men if they were going to look on and see an innocent man sent into slavery without an effort to prevent it. Young men, warm-hearted and generous, stood ready to lend a helping hand the moment the signal should be given for a rescue.

And it was not only Abolitionists that evinced this native sympathy with the outraged prisoner. Others, making no profession of our faith, men showing by their language that they had hardly more than tasted the good word of anti-slavery life, were burning with zeal to prevent the intended atrocity. Alvan Stewart used to say that our cause would never triumph till "swearing men as well as praying men" were included in our ranks. If the spirit of the sainted Alvan had been hovering near the Philadelphia Court-house during the last two days of Daniel Webster's trial, it would have rejoiced in the full assurance of approaching victory. For the oaths, not against the Abolitionists, as of old time, but against the slave-breeders and their Northern catchpoles, were loud, deep and emphatic. This shows that the anti-slavery feeling has at last extended itself, in some measure at least, to the masses. The language along the street, stripped of its garniture, was in substance as follows: "If the people of Virginia must have slaves, let them hold them themselves; don't let them ask us to keep them. Let them keep their slaves on their own soil, and at their own cost. Don't let them carry them in chains over our railroads, or march them through our streets, or make slave-drivers of our officers, and a slave-barracoon of our old State House. This thing has been run into the ground, and we can't stand it any longer. Endurance, which has never been a virtue, has ceased to be a possibility, and this business of slave-catching in Pennsylvania must come to a stop."

Sentiments such as these, only expressed in language much more emphatic, might have been heard from many a group during the discussion growing out of the late excitement. A feeling in the community, such as this indicates, is not to be tampered with. The fact is patent to all that have eyes to see, that it is neither safe nor in any point of view politic to recount these scenes of judicial slave-catching. People of influence and men in authority should be warned in time. If, from any false sense of obligation, or other cause, those who have the power to prevent it allow another such experiment to be made on the endurance of the people, on their heads, not on ours, will rest the responsibility for the consequences.

And yet it would not be surprising, in spite of our hopes to the contrary, if Philadelphia were to be the scene, and that before a great while, of another slave case. There are two parties that desire to appease the power that rules us, both of which would be glad to make it an early offering. One is the Lecompton rump of the Democratic party, or rather the leaders thereof, and the other the Market Street Jobbers, who trade with the South. The first, represented by James Vandyke, Esq., U. S District Attorney, Hon. John Cadwallader, Judge of the U. S. District Court, and others of the same ilk, holders and expectants of office, naturally desire to stand fair with the slaveholders, because they comprise the chief strength of their party. As things now stand, since Daniel Webster's discharge, these men have lost their trumps; and unless they can get a new deal, their game is up and their opponents will sweep the board. Their only chance is to make fair weather with their Southern backers till after the Charleston Convention. To do this their first thought, it is supposed, will be to catch another "nigger" and put him through, and this there is serious reason to fear will be their policy. If it should, they will not take the risk a second time of an open trial. The process will be as "prompt" and "summary" as the most literal consignation of the slave law can make it. They will cut the case as short as Judge Kane did that of poor Jacob Dupen, who was remanded before the counsel who was sent for had time to reach the Court-house. The thing will all be arranged beforehand, to guard against miscarriage. The man (or woman!) will be entrapped, caught, brought before Judge Cadwallader, or some Commissioner similarly disposed, and, by the snap-judgment process of *prima facie* proof, decided to be the property of the claimant demanding him. This being done, these men can go into the counsels of their party at Washington or Charleston, and, pointing to the proof of their fidelity, can claim their reward.

The other class, the Market Street Jobbers, whose chief hope is in the Southern trade, fancy, in their sordid blindness, that their interest is to be promoted in the same way; so their co-operation can be counted on whenever it is called for. This class, it is pleasant to know, has been growing "small by degrees and beautifully less," until now it is composed of men who have neither the reputation of "influence" or "respectability." The idea which had so long prevailed, that, to get Southern custom you must pander to Southern prejudice, has been, to a great extent, exploded. The experiment has been tried. Merchants who *were not* merchants forsook the faith in which they had been trained, and, feigning feelings which they did not cherish, sought to propitiate the favor of slaveholders. They succeeded for awhile, but only enough to make their ultimate failure more signally ignominious. On the other hand, merchants who *were* merchants, holding that honesty and enterprise are sure of their reward, and that the law of trade, that men will buy where they can be best accommodated, has its foundation in nature and is irrepealable, and who therefore put their goods, but *not* their principles, in the market, have stood justified before the community by the success of their course. They have commanded the respect alike of their Northern coadjutors and Southern opponents. They have flourished, while their rivals, acting on a different policy, have met with disaster.

People, however, are slow to profit by the experience of their neighbors, and there is still a portion of our Market Street dealers who are willing to try the old methods of getting and keeping the Virginia trade. These people were exceedingly anxious, during the late trial, that Daniel should be delivered up, and, when disappointed in their hopes, did what they could to testify their sympathy with the party defeated. They joined in the serenade to Brewster; they applauded his eulogies of the South; they were parties to the riot at Sansom Hall, and their boast is (aside to Virginia customers) that they came near getting into the watch-house.

It would suit this class to have at least one more victim sent into slavery just to reassure their Southern buyers, and satisfy them that Philadelphia can be relied upon. And yet it would not do for them to take a very prominent part in a case of this kind, for they have Western as well as Southern customers to propitiate. On this account it would have suited them exactly to have had Daniel delivered up, and then to have joined with the Lecomptonites and others and bought him at his owner's price. This would have been killing two birds with one stone. It would have proved their loyalty to slavery and their regard for humanity at the same time. It would have been making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness all round.

Unhappily, however, Daniel was discharged, and this meditated stroke for Southern friendship and Northern favor at a single blow could not be tried. The next thought was to raise the amount demanded for Daniel ($1,400) and present it to the chap-fallen claimants; but on consideration, this was discarded as not likely to suit the purpose of either party. Nothing now is left to be done but either to take the risk of returning another fugitive or the hazard of letting the whole subject alone. Some incline to the opinion, both among the politicians and the jobbers, that this latter would be the least dangerous policy. Our hope is that this opinion may obtain prevalence. If it should, we are safe against another slave case; if it should not, we shall be apprised of the fact by the announcement in some morning's paper that Judge Cadwallader, or some one else, has delivered over a slave, the day before, to the man who claimed him.

M.

Our European Correspondence.

LETTERS FROM HARRIET MARTINEAU.

NO. III.

APRIL 11th, 1859.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

SIR: When I last wrote, the vote of our House of Commons on the Reform bill was in suspense. I write now at a moment of far graver suspense, occasioned by that same vote. I see by your newspapers that the critical state of the quarrel among the continental Powers is the most interesting of foreign topics just now on your side the water. It is so here; and it would therefore be absurd to thrust it aside for the sake of others, even if it were not certain that this great quarrel implicates the interests of everybody's freedom everywhere, and the freedom to come as much as that which is now struggling for its rights. The fate of Africa hangs on the fortunes of the Bonapartes, more perhaps than on any other conditions whatever; and the destinies of the American negro are closely implicated with those of the African. The fate of the Bonapartes depends on the issue of their policy to-day; and it is therefore no wonder that the world can attend to little else. The impending war is the only topic one can write on to-day.

It is impossible to convey to the minds of continental despots, or those of their people, any idea of the real security and welfare of England while political conflict is going on. The prevalent idea abroad of late seems to have been that our national destiny was to be interpreted by the fate of the Reform bill. If the Government succeeded, order would reign in England; the personal friend of certain foreign rulers would remain in the Foreign Office; England would be the faithful ally of Austria; and the German tendencies of the Court would have free play. If the Government could not hold its ground, then the Liberals would come in, England would sympathize with Italy, the mob would support revolution abroad, and control the Court at home; and many more such wonderful things. The situation really was a grave and pregnant one, though not exactly this; and the suspense of this moment is one which will not easily be forgotten. The Ministers could not carry their Reform bill. They took time to consider what course they should pursue. They announced that they had advised the Queen to dissolve Parliament—it being universally understood that the real reason was, not any necessity for compelling the country to say what it would have in the shape of a Reform bill, but the dread of having a less complaisant friend of continental sovereigns than Lord Malmesbury at the Foreign Office, if the Ministers were obliged to go out instead of the House of Commons. This announcement caused great anxiety to the English Liberals. They have nothing to fear about a Reform bill. They can command that at any time by a due amount of zeal. But it is a serious thing to be represented by Lord Malmesbury abroad, when the destinies of nations are pending. He does not represent British opinion or feeling on continental affairs; he is not an able man; and there is a general expectation of a scrape when Lord Malmesbury is overtaken by any sort of crisis. A general election was, however, decreed; preparations were made in the country; tradesmen, artists and fine ladies uttered their lamentations over the disruption of the London season; and more cosmopolitan people calculated how far the continental quarrel would have gone before our new Parliament would be able to obtain from the Foreign Secretary an account of what he had been saying and doing in our name.

Suddenly there comes news from abroad which makes us doubt whether Parliament will be dissolved after all. If the intention is revoked, it will be an event almost new in history, and of a significance which cannot be overrated. It appears that Austria supposes the vote against the government to be equivalent to the restoration of the Liberals to office, and, in short, to the decision of the nation in favor of the Italians, and of France and Sardinia, as the champions of Italy; and that Austria will therefore wait no longer, but perpetrate an invasion, in order to steal a march on France and Sardinia. Such is the interpretation put upon the aspect of affairs at Vienna; and it is so grave and fearful that it is considered doubtful whether England should be without a Parliament at such a time; whether, in short, Parliament will be dissolved after all. This is the point of suspense at this moment. It is very serious, because much is expected from England under circumstances which nobody understands.

The great mystery, as it is needless to explain, is the Emperor of the French. He is clearly so far from understanding his own policy that it is useless to expect anybody else to explain it. He declared that his reign should be one of peace, and his tenure of the throne through his early difficulties was mainly owing to this declaration—so precious to his war-worn and impoverished people. Amidst a series of oppressions which neither your countrymen nor mine would have endured for a month, he held his influence and his throne, because he promoted the tranquillity and the industrial welfare of the country. Now, without apparent reason or excuse, he plunges headlong into the risks and costs of warfare; he alienates his allies by menaces; he drains France of men and money; and, in defiance of every possible expression of the fear and horror of his people, he rushes into war, without any assignable reason. At the same time, he vacillates, equivocates, lectures Europe, praises himself, contradicts each day what he said the day before, and has entirely overthrown such faith as was based on his inaccessible and immovable will. Whether he is practically subordinate to his clever cousin; whether his mind has really been shaken by the Orsini conspiracy; whether he feels an irresistible ambition to rival the first Napoleon as a victor; whether any or all of these things may account for his course, there is no saying; but the fact is that, after all his promises of peace, he is plunging his people into war, without cause and without excuse. It is said and believed that he has succeeded in making his hood-winked people believe that he is supported by England, Russia, and even Prussia, in his present course. As they know nothing but what he tells them, there is no possibility of setting this right. A short time will probably show how his forces can deal with those of Austria. If, as is thought probable by many, the Austrians should prove the better soldiers, France will be once more plunged into an abyss of calamity; and the liberties of Italy will be thrown back a very long way.

The other alternative is sufficiently unpromising. If Austria is beaten, the Italians are no nearer to independence than before. No Bonaparte ever yet tolerated any independence that could be quashed; and there is no reason to suppose that the present generation of that family of adventurers are better friends of liberty than their elders. The other Powers of Europe are not disposed to countenance war in order to transfer Italy to new masters who have shown no signs of being able to govern well. The Bonapartes are not men of character, of political wisdom, of patriotic temper, of philosophical sagacity. They are low in aim, vulgar in quality of intellect, and consequently in manners, and by no prepossessions inclined to rescue Italy for the advantage of the Italians. They are regarded as selfish adventurers, rather than as emancipators of nations.

Then, as to those nations—it would be a grave question for other powers what to do, if the French Emperor and his cousin were the noblest Paladins Europe ever saw. We have no evidence that the Italian people could govern themselves if they were free to do so to-morrow. This would be no affair of ours if they were united in desiring to make the attempt. If they were so united, it would be our duty to obtain for them, if possible, the means of trying the experiment. But it is a perplexing fact that the bulk of the population in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces desire no change. They are lightly taxed, kindly used, and, low as are their desires, they are satisfied by Austrian rule. The educated classes are unanimous for independence; but the numbers are the other way; and this increases the difficulty of intervention. The case stands thus. The uninvolved Powers desire the liberty of Italy; but they cannot urge on the French Emperor, against the will of the French people, the true interests of Italy, and the treaty-rights of Austria. Neither can they join Austria, against Piedmont and the rights of Italy, and on behalf of bad government there. Absolute neutrality, with readiness to mediate, seems the only course. Complications enter here from the relations borne by Russia and Prussia to Austria, of which I have not room to speak to-day. It must suffice that the mediation offered by England and Prussia, and the Congress proposed by Russia, seem to be at once destroyed by the interpretation Austria has put upon the vote on the Reform bill. Accepting this as the sign of a liberal Ministry, and of action against Austria, the Emperor Francis Joseph has instantly marched down his invading force, apparently to get the start of his opponents. The telegram may at any moment tell us that another great European war has begun.

It promises to be *the* great European war— the long-foreseen "war of opinion" which was cut short in 1848–9. We English see no reason for our being implicated, and all parties of us earnestly desire to keep out of it; but a strife of such depth and compass as certainly remains to be gone through can hardly leave any leading nation in peace outside. Our impression is strong that France will now be adrift again for a government. The Bonapartes have lost much *prestige*, and are probably near their end as a dynasty. The poverty of the leading combatants is a strange and prominent feature in their case. Austria is unconscionably insolvent; Piedmont is distressed for money; France gets deeper into debt every year; and for about three months, French industry and commerce have been paralyzed. England has not money for all, and wants a great deal for India. Fearful distress is before the people of all the belligerent countries; and the lot of the French is hard above all. The probabilities of further revolution there are very strong. The Austrian empire seems likely to fall to pieces, unless transcendent military success in the first instance—humbling France—should obtain a rapid peace. But then there is Russia behind, offended and vindictive! It is a fearful picture, from all points of view! It seems to be nothing less than the decisive conflict between despotic and constitutional government, over the whole continent of Europe. If so, you and we shall be brought to book, to give account of the fruits of our respective methods. We had better be preparing our reports.

LETTERS FROM PARIS....NO. I.

MARCH 30th, 1859.

I SHALL be most happy to fulfil your request to send you, from time to time, some news from Europe. To-day I must give you political news, since politics form at present the general preoccupation throughout all Europe. The actual crisis, which it is more than probable will end in a general war, reminds me forcibly of our old-fashioned classic plays. See if I am not right! Such a piece not unusually opens with a dialogue between some famous tyrant or sovereign and his confidant, or a conspiracy. In this case the first scene will unite both incidents. The dramatis personæ are the tyrant (Louis Bonaparte) and a crafty Italian Count (Cavour). The scene shall be laid in a lovely valley situated in the midst of the Vosges. In the distance, above the dark and pine-covered mountains, the *Ballons* of Alsace lift their round and naked summits. There, during the last villegiatura, the great Emperor of the French took the waters at a small place called Plombières, without court or etiquette, but alas! not without police; for every house in that quiet mountain-valley was searched before his arrival and strictly watched during his stay. When Count Cavour went, last August, to this place to pay a long and confidential visit to the despot, no one cared much about it, and read the news with much the indifference we feel when we see that Prince Y. or Lord B. have arrived at Brighton, or Mivart's Hotel. It was, nevertheless, in this humble village of the Vosges, in this quiet valley, that was prepared, concocted and matured the whole plan of what is now diplomatically called the "Italian Question." It was there decided that something should be done for Italy, and that, in return, the King of Sardinia should surrender his young daughter, then not fifteen years old, to the tyrant's cousin, the Prince Napoleon Bonaparte. Many other points were decided, but of them we hear as yet nothing. This interview forms the first act in my play. What think you of the analogy? The second act, were I engaged in writing this most interesting drama, would open with a most brilliant scene—the New Year's reception, in a splendid hall of the Tuileries—the "Salon des Marechaux." It is needless for me to describe to you the gigantic gilded caryatidæ around the throne, the Marshals of the first Empire looking down in warlike array from their high frames, the room crowded with officials, generals in full uniform, magistrates in their black and red robes, bishops, cardinals, ladies in full court dress; in short, all the notabilities who form the Imperial Court, assembled to make the usual compliments. In the first rank stand the foreign ministers of all nations. After the usual waiting, the doors are thrown open and the Tyrant comes in, escorted by his chamberlain, master of ceremonies, etc. He advances slowly, complimenting people on his passage and smiling on all, when suddenly, singling out the Austrian Ambassador, he steps towards him, and, with a haughty air and an indescribable acrimony in his tone, tells him "he regrets that the relations between the Austrian government and his own are of so disagreeable a character." This most unexpected attack was much in the fashion of the First Bonaparte. Every one understood at once how matters stood. A few words from the tyrant sound like the first *Coup de canon*. In a few days the French funds ran down from 75fs. to 66, a loss of about 10 per cent. France was no more prepared than the rest of the world for a war; a short time before the Minister of Finance had drawn up a long report, stating that trade and industry were in the most prosperous condition, and that there was no internal or external difficulty which could hinder a remarkable advance of the country. The first feeling was astonishment, the second indignation. Was it possible that the whole world should be drawn into inextricable difficulties at one man's will? Was he to be not only the despotic ruler of France, but of all Europe? Was France, deprived of liberty, to be forced to lavish blood and treasure in order to consolidate by her triumph her own servitude? Was it possible to believe that the man who had crushed every liberal sentiment and institution in France would seriously think of giving freedom to Italians? Such were the thoughts of all, but nowhere were they more bitterly and eloquently expressed than in Germany. There, it was at once instinctively felt that if the French Emperor were allowed to diminish the power of Austria, he would ultimately carry out his well-known designs on the frontier provinces of the Rhine. No one has ever doubted that his intentions with regard to these Rhenish provinces are the same as we in Europe attribute to your government respecting Cuba. Unpopular as Austria is in the Protestant parts of the German Confederation, it was felt, nevertheless, in that case, that Germany could not abandon the ancient head of the holy Roman Empire. How could I better illustrate these sentiments, in following out my plan, than by choosing for my third act a scene in one of the German University towns. Who has not seen one of these old-fashioned places—Bonn, Göttengen or Heidelberg—and witnessed the joyous scenes of the students' revels? Now, a patriotic feeling has pervaded all their usual amusements. They sing no songs but the old patriotic hymns of 1813; they pronounce speeches against French ambition, swear to live and die for united Germany, and finally burn in effigy an enormous figure, whose large nose, wide-spread moustaches and apparel make it very easily identified.

The excitement and interest generally languish at certain periods in most dramas; and so it is just now with this Italian question, the fourth act being, in fact, nothing but a Congress; but there is little doubt that the closing scene will take place in those famous Plains of Lombardy, where every village and every brook recalls a battle. I should deeply regret it if any word, any sentiment in this letter should give you the idea that I have no sympathy for Italy. Were there an ideal policy in favor of the Austrian dominion in the Italian peninsula, I should strongly deprecate such policy. But I need not labor to convince an Abolitionist that means are not matters of difference in an undertaking. You have always condemned the Jesuitical principle "*La fin justifie les moyens.*" So do the Liberals now in France; and they do not think it honorable for Italy to vindicate her independence at the price of Louis Bonaparte's triumph and France's slavery. What Lord Brougham wittily called, in the House of Lord, "the Piedmontese speculation" is also a Bonapartist speculation, and every true lover of liberty must be warned against it. Piedmont has misunderstood her position. She enjoyed the only constitutional government in Italy—a model to the peninsular governments, a shame to Rome, Naples and Austria; the press was free, the tribune free; but whoever has travelled in Italy knows that even Piedmont had only what I might call the frame of a constitution. There are no constitutional habits among the people; the priesthood is all-powerful; an influential aristocracy remains favorable to the most despotic and retrograde policy. In the Kingdom of Piedmont there are no less than 41 bishops and 1,460 chanoines, besides the ordinary *curés*. Every civil improvement meets with an energetic opposition. The Piedmontese government has done much to better the condition of the people, and to excite liberal feelings among them, but this pacific and liberal task is now set aside, and military and revolutionary plans have succeeded to the reforms. Count Cavour is a real dictator in Turin, supported by a foreign power; and were he to fail in his present undertaking, the whole constitutional work of the last ten years would be lost. Few among those who profess to sympathize with Italy know the real state of things in this unfortunate country. They are ignorant of the fact that the liberal movement began in the highest ranks of society, with Charles Albert, Balbo, Gioberti, D'Azeglio and Collegno, etc., and that their constitutional ideas are not yet widely spread among the people. This work of diffusion, aided by literature, the press, and the debates of a free parliament, was the real work Piedmont ought to have performed. She needed no soldiers: she needed railways, industry, civil laws and agricultural improvements. She required no military allies, but the moral alliance of all true lovers of right and progress. She is now willing to commit her own fate and the fate of Italy to the uncertain chances of arms. But let us not condemn her too severely. She could not resist the temptation offered to her, and forgot the line of Virgil, "*Timeo danaos et dona ferentes.*" Let us condemn the seducer who is willing to make an unfortunate nation the instrument of his own selfish ambition and personal designs. I shall send you in my next letter some interesting details on the state of religion in France, and an account of some measures lately adopted by government in regard to the Protestants.

— —.

P. S. Yesterday the order was given to put the French army on the war footing; this does not mean *immediate* hostilities, but shows a determination to get as much as possible out of the Congress, or to make war at once if the demands are refused.

From our Dublin Correspondent.

The Neapolitan Exiles—Their welcome in England—Their visit to Dublin—Their interest in Miss Remond—The Duke of Caballino approving her mission—Grisi and Mario declining to see the Exiles—Message for Mrs. Stowe—An agent of Dr. Cheever's Church collecting funds in Great Britain.

DUBLIN, April 1, 1859.

LAST week I forwarded to our friend Sydney H. Gay a Cork paper, the *Southern Reporter*, containing a profoundly touching letter to the editor from one of the Neapolitan exiles, then in Cork, and signed by him as Sigismondo Castromediano, Duca di Caballino. In this letter he details the terrible sufferings endured by his companions in exile and himself in the fearful dungeons of that execrable tyrant, the King of Naples. When I sent that paper, in the hope that it might appear in *The Tribune** and awaken in America some of that sympathy which fills Great Britain for the victims who have escaped from this house of bondage and cruelty, I had no idea that I should myself have an opportunity of meeting with some of them in Dublin. I happen to be known to a family in Cork, who, ever since the exiles landed at Queenstown (a few miles from that city), have been foremost in all the endeavors so generally made to alleviate, by present attention, the keen remembrance of past sufferings and the sorrows of a tyrannical expatriation. Nearly all the exiles had left Cork for Bristol, in parties more or less numerous, and on landing in England were received by enthusiastic thousands, who thronged to hail them. The bells of the churches rang peals of welcome, they were met and feasted by the authorities of the ancient city (once the headquarters of the British branch of the African slave trade), and were shown in every way that in England the national, popular, general feeling was one of the kindest sympathy for them and abhorrence for their oppressor. The subscription got up for their benefit is on a munificent scale, embracing the names of many of the noblest in the country.

I suppose it was in order to avoid the pains of a long sea voyage at this rough season of the year that the writer of the letter to which I have referred, with his companions in prison, the Baron Poerio, Dr. Braico, Dr. Stephano Mollico, Signors Vincenzo Dono and Nicolo Palermo, came by way of Dublin, to take the short passage of 60 miles from Kingstown (near Dublin) to Holyhead, and thence 270 miles by rail to London. Having early information of their time of leaving Cork, some of my friends and I met them at the terminus in Dublin (where nobody else knew anything about them), and had the great pleasure of being of some use to them during their short stay in Dublin. Some such assistance was indeed necessary, for only two of their party had even a slight knowledge of colloquial English, the remainder speaking only French and Italian. During that evening and the following morning previous to their sailing for Holyhead, we had a few hours of social intercourse with these true martyrs of liberty, whose sufferings have now become a part of history. Of those who assembled to greet them, two were Professors of the University, and spoke Italian—one of them being the Italian Professor, Signor Marani, who, many years ago, himself suffered twenty-one months of chains and cruel imprisonment from that twin brother of Bomba, the Duke of Modena. Although the Neapolitan exiles had never seen this gentleman before, they knew him by reputation, and received him like a long-lost brother. The Baron Poerio is a gentleman of great conversational power and remarkable accomplishments, intimately acquainted with general literature and politics. He is of low size, rather short, and bears evident traces of the severe treatment to which he was for ten years subjected, embittered in every way by the meanest devices and the most malignant indignities. One of the exiles, who appeared much depressed, stated, in reply to expressions of sympathy, that he had not yet learned to realise the certainty of the change from such suffering to the experience of so much kind attention as they had experienced since their arrival in Ireland. You may imagine how delightful it was for us, in even so small a way, to prove to them that they were surrounded by friends who could appreciate and honor them for their sacrifices and sufferings. An incident that will interest the readers of THE STANDARD is that Miss Sarah Remond was of the social party that met them at the house of a friend on the evening of their arrival. I have seen fairer faces; but I have never seen one brighter, more intelligent, or better "lit up," than was hers that whole evening. The exiles were deeply interested on being informed that she was here as the representative of a downtrodden race in a land of liberty, and their advocate before the British people. The Duca di Cabellico begged to be presented to her, and desired that she should be informed how, as one who had himself suffered from cruel oppression, he entirely sympathized with her and her noble mission. Several of the exiles handed her their cards, and the Baron Poerio gave her some lines with his autograph. In reply to repeated expressions of grateful acknowledgment for attentions which we were only too glad to offer, we could only give the true reply that we felt honored and obliged by the opportunity. Indeed, the enjoyment was so intense that when they were fairly on their way to the glorious welcome which awaits them in England, some of us felt as if a much longer experience of living had been compressed into a few hours. Some of the exiles hearing that Grisi and Mario were in town, and expressing a great desire to be present at the Italian opera (which they had not seen for ten years), application was made to those famous singers; but they sent word that they "were engaged." Human nature is the same in Dublin and New York. The difficulty was probably the same which prevents a New York dealer from countenancing fugitive slaves. They dread their Southern customers. The Southern customers of Grisi and her spouse are the tyrants of Italy, and very good customers too. The manager of the theatre, however, was prompt in gratifying the exiles, thanking them for the opportunity of doing so. What a row you would have in all the slave States if a Philadelphia manager were to express himself so to one of those bands of heroes who so often make their way northwards by the help of Thomas Garrett! It is gratifying to know that the enthusiasm excited by the arrival of Poerio and his friends on British soil, the subscription on their behalf, and the spontaneous nature of their cordial welcome, have excited a profound interest in Naples. So I learn from this morning's papers. This proves, I venture to think, that a similar excitement is created in Charleston by the indications of a strong anti-slavery sentiment in England. Will you tell Mrs. Stowe that her name is familiar to the exiles, and that they regard her as "a woman and a sister."

It was but yesterday I received a letter and printed circular from a Miss Elizabeth Johnston, an English lady sometime resident in the United States, who has come to England to collect funds in support of the anti-slavery Church of the Puritans, in New York, of which Dr. Cheever is pastor, and which has been deprived of part of its means of support in consequence of the defection of some of its members, who regard practical Christianity as a different matter from the Gospel, and would prefer to have Christ preached to them apart from all the good that he came to promote. I think that, although Dr. Cheever does not work with the Abolitionists, no true Abolitionist should refuse to work with Dr. Cheever. So long as he shows a brave front to the common enemy, and chooses to do our work in his own way, he should be supported and credited for what he has set himself to do with such evident disinterestedness and sincerity. Therefore I called on an eminent Congregational minister in Dublin, very orthodox, who likes anti-slavery—but rather dreads the Abolitionists—and told him that here was an object which he could not have any scruple to promote—here was the most eloquent man of his denomination, doing a noble work in the United States, facing poverty and loss of social position for the sake of the greatest cause in which any American could be engaged—that of freeing the name of Christ from the disgrace of sanctioning slavery. He promised me to support Miss Johnston's object, and I wrote to her to say so, and that her mission gave a desirable opportunity of putting English anti-slavery professions to the test, since every Congregational minister knows Dr. Cheever by reputation, and they had now a chance of promoting the anti-slavery cause by sustaining him as he deserves to be sustained. I said, at the same time, that I was in full sympathy with the anti-slavery measures and principles of the Abolitionists proper, but had no objection to do my best in favor of any honest, unselfish effort to promote the common object of Wm. Lloyd Garrison and Dr. Cheever, or to this effect.

Yours ever truly, RICHARD D. WEBB.

* We regret to learn that the editor of *The Tribune* felt himself compelled, for lack of room, to decline inserting the letter here alluded to.—*Ed. Standard.*

LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, No. 778, contains a sketch (with portrait) of Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet; also Lord Macaulay's paper on William Pitt, from the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, and several fresh chapters of Holmby House. New York: Dolisser & Proctor, 508 Broadway.

TWENTY-FOURTH

PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR,

AND

NATIONAL BAZAAR.

THE Committee of Management of this well-known Fair, in making their annual announcement, have, this year, to advertise a new arrangement which they have made for the promotion of that great cause in aid of which their Bazaar has been annually held for nearly a quarter of a century. It is that our next Bazaar is to be National in its character, and not, as heretofore, a Pennsylvania institution alone.

The National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, which has been held, in the city of Boston, during many years, and has been so widely and favorably known on both sides of the Atlantic, having given place to another method of obtaining funds for our cause, it has been judged a wise measure that the Pennsylvania Fair should be now made National in its character. As our whole enterprise, in all its departments, is truly one, and best known, both at home and abroad, by the name of the American Anti-Slavery Society and its affiliations, it is sufficient to announce that one-half of the profits of our Fair will be put into the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and the other half, under the direction of its auxiliaries, will be used for the promotion of our cause, in Pennsylvania.

It can scarcely be necessary even to advert to the character of the means by which our enterprise is conducted, so well are they known, both at home and abroad. It is sufficient to say that in the weapons with which we commenced this conflict, and which have, in all ages, proved "mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds" of evil, we confidently trust for complete victory. Still less is it needful that, in such an announcement as this, we should enter on an exposition of our well-known principles. We call upon all who love and value those principles to aid us in their dissemination.

To the friends of our cause in Europe, whose generous gifts have for many years been made to the Boston Bazaar, we say, let your contributions of money be devoted to our cause, through the medium of the Boston Anti-Slavery Festival, which has taken the place of that Bazaar; and permit us, if you please, to be the recipients of your other gifts which have been annually sent in various forms of articles of merchandise, to our coadjutors in Massachusetts. These products of your industry and taste and skill, these contributions from the shops and warehouses of your artisans and manufacturers, we can transmute to money, which money we shall receive as a sacred trust from you, to be appropriated, with our utmost fidelity and wisdom, to the abolition of American slavery.

To our friends and coadjutors at home, whose willing hearts and active hands have ever been quick to aid us in this department of our labor, we need to make but one suggestion. We merely remind them that as our Fair is, this year, to have a broader basis, and to extend its operations, it will require of us all somewhat larger gifts than heretofore, of labor, time, or money, according to our ability.

Our Bazaar will be opened in CONCERT HALL, in the City of Philadelphia, on Monday, the 12th, and will continue until Saturday, the 17th day of December, 1859. Contributions of money or of articles of merchandise will be gratefully received, and may be sent, at any time, to the Philadelphia Anti-Slavery Office, No. 107 North Fifth street, or to any member of the Committee. We trust that our friends, in the city and country, will be prompt in assuring us of their hearty and active cooperation.

The present aspects of our cause are full of encouragement; abounding proofs that our past labors have not been in vain bid us be of good cheer, while the magnitude of the work before us urges us onward to new toils and greater victories.

SARAH PUGH,	EMILY W. TAYLOR,
ANNA M. CHILD,	EVELINA SUPPLEE,
MARIA M. DAVIS,	EMMA PARKER,
REBECCA S. HART,	MARTHA KIMBER,
MARY GREW,	CLEMENTINE G. JOHN,
SARAH PIERCE,	SARAH KENDERDINE,
HULDAH JUSTICE,	ANNA M. HOPPER,
ABBY KIMBER,	ELIZABETH GAY,
RACHEL WILSON,	LYDIA GILLINGHAM,
LUCRETIA MOTT,	JANETTE JACKSON,
SARAH C. HALLOWELL,	MARGARETTA FORTEN,
MARTHA A. GALVIN,	MARGARET A. GRISCOM,
ANNIS SHORMAKER,	GULIELMA M. JONES,
ELLEN M. CHILD,	SARAH A. GILLINGHAM,
SARAH A. MCKIM,	AGNES CRAIN,
REBECCA PLUMLY,	HARRIET D. PURVIS,
LYDIA WHITE,	MARY T. STICKNEY,
MARGARET J. BURLEIGH,	SUSAN W. SHAW,
ROSANNA THOMPSON,	ELIZABETH CLENDENNON,
HANNAH L. STICKNEY,	MARIA CONKLIN,
MARY SHAW,	SARAH S. CHILD.

*** The editor of the London *Anti-Slavery Advocate* would confer a favor on the Abolitionists of this country and render a service to the cause, by giving the above notice, or the substance thereof, a place in its columns. Other English journals exchanging with us are also invited, for the cause's sake, to bring the same to the notice of their readers.—ED. STANDARD.

Summary.

Rev. Howard Malcom has refused an offer of $3,000 from a Southern publishing house, to strike out of his Bible Dictionary some allusion to the difference between Hebrew servitude and American slavery.

A Slaveholders' Convention is to be held at Baltimore on the second Wednesday of June, "for the purpose of devising some system to be presented to the Legislature of Maryland at its next session, having for its object the better regulation of the free negro population of this State."

The alleged slave, Daniel Webster, an account of whose arrest and release we published last week, passed through this city a few days since, on his way to Canada. He was cared for while here by the agent of the Underground Railroad, Rev. J. W. Loguen, and sent on his way rejoicing, to a land where his life will not be in jeopardy.—*Syracuse Wesleyan.*

Col. Perrault of Louisiana was lately sent by Gov. Wickliffe of that State to Missouri to procure the extradition of a fugitive murderer who was in custody in St. Louis. He waited on Governor Stewart of Missouri who happened to be drunk at the time, and who not only rejected the requisition, but told the bearer to tell Gov. Wickliffe that he was "a d—d fool," adding, "if I hadn't more brains than he I'd resign." His Excellency further informed the Colonel that his (Stewart's) "head was all right." The astonished Louisianian asked the drunken man if he was indeed the Governor of the State of Missouri, and on receiving an emphatically-majestic affirmative, bade him good day and departed.

ELEVEN FORTUNATE NEGROES.—Eleven colored individuals are here from that part of the South called North Carolina. They are bound to Kansas or Nebraska Territory, in pursuance of the terms of a portion of the last will and testament of a gentleman of the aforesaid State, lately deceased, whose instructions were that the fortunate eleven be conducted to one of the Territories, be provided with sufficient land to support themselves, all necessary farming instruments, and their —freedom. Such is the tale given by one of the officers of the packet J. H. Dirley, which arrived here yesterday with the negroes on board.—*St. Louis Democrat.*

MRS. MOTT AND THE RECENT SLAVE CASE.—Shortly after the decision, and while those interested in the fugitive were leaving the Court House, a discussion took place on the corner of Fifth and Chesnut streets. A Southerner asserted, among other things, that Lucretia Mott had offered to give money to the mob to rescue the fugitive. Just at that moment the lady came by. One fat good-natured individual, who had contended that Lucretia had said no such thing, immediately appealed to her thus: "Lucretia, did thee say that thee would give no money to buy the slave, but would pay a mob to rescue him?"

To this question Lucretia replied: "I certainly did not say so, but I will tell thee what I did say. I said, that although I was opposed to buying Daniel, I would pay liberally in case he should escape." This explanation was received with shouts by the crowd, and Lucretia wended her way homeward, surrounded by admiring friends.—*Cor. West Chester Times.*

TRIBUNE STATISTICS.—*The Tribune* announces its present circulation as follows: Daily, 35,750; Semi-weekly, 19,000; Weekly, 153,000; California Tribune, 4,000; Total, 211,750. The aggregate consumption of paper for these issues is 818 reams (25,000 lbs. or 20 cart-loads) per week. The average weekly expenses are $7,800. Paid to editors, correspondents and reporters, annually, $44,000; for printing expenses, annually, $62,000; mailing, annually, nearly $16 000; telegraphing; annually, $13.000. There are employed on the paper, exclusive of carriers, cartmen, &c., 180 persons. The quantity of ink consumed in the last year is 60,049 lbs., costing over $8 000. 2,300 lbs. of glue and 11 bbls. of refined cane sirup have been used in the manufacture of inking rollers. The steam power-presses and other machinery used in printing cost over $70,000, and the expense per annum for type is about $10 000.

MOVE FOR A NEW SLAVE STATE.—The *Alta California* of the 7th of March says: "Mr. Thom, on Saturday, introduced in the Senate a

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

PAST, PRESENT, AND TO-COME.

O THAT the knowledge which we gain
Of Being's ordeal through its pain,
The experiences which only come
Through suffering ev'n to martyrdom,
The strength that grows alone through strife
Waged in the hot, hard war of Life,
Some kindly Power could to us give
When first, first we begin to live!
But Intuition ne'er supplies
The counsel needful to make wise.
Each traveller for himself must learn,
Each grope before he can discern,
Each, error upon error pile,
Ere through the clouds the day star smile.
Pure though thy aim, and true thy heart,
And set to choose the better part,
No pledge is *this* that thou shalt shun
The rocks that others stranded on:
No pledge is this that thou shalt see
The light thou seek'st for shine on thee.
The myriad influences that lie
Around our path, in earth, sea, sky,
That come with ev'ry word we hear,
(How seldom from a holier sphere!)
The voices various, that arise
From passions, fears, or sympathies,
Bewilder and beguile our youth
From the One Pure, Clear Voice of Truth.

And yet, when wounded, faint, and torn,
We would a brother-pilgrim warn,
And in good faith and friendship show
That brother pilgrim aught we know
Of whirlpool dark, or dangerous coast
Where we ourselves were nearly lost,
Think not he'll counsel take of *you*,
He claims *his* right to shipwreck, too! *
And though our soul may o'er him grieve,
Another's warp we may not weave,
Nor wisdom to another give;
It takes a life *to learn* to live!
Thus when the lesson is our own,
And rich in knowledge we have grown,
Behold! 'tis past the noon of day,
And we have just found out our way!
Have just learned to walk alone,
Have just Life's trammels from us thrown,
And just are growing old, in sooth,
Yet just have gain'd the soul's *true* youth!

Well, it is *something*, if at last
O'er all the sad and stormy Past
We see the breaking of the morn,
We see the light of Wisdom dawn!
'Tis *something* to have found, though late,
How small is oft what man deems great;
To have at last been truly taught
That creed, and sect, and form, are nought
In making us a place among
The bright innumerable throng
To whom their Father's bliss is given,
The pure in heart—the meet for heaven.
'Tis *something* to have toss'd away
The gyves upon our hands that lay
(Which erst we wore for Duty's sake
And long'd, but dar'd not try, to break),
And warmly meet, and strongly clasp
What good soe'er those hands can grasp:
In reverent watchfulness to wait
Alone—*alone*—at Wisdom's gate,
And list to what she saith to thee
Down in thy own heart's secresy,
Nor for the thousand voices care
Which call thee *here* - and call thee *there!*

Thus, Immortality! I know,
I feel, thou art begun below:
Moments there are which bring me some
Sweet glimpses of a Life to Come,
When plenteous Power may equal Will
In working for th' o'erthrow of Ill:
Where, Love Divine! in serving Thee
Ever shall I feel strong and free:
Yes! ever strong and free, to bless
Uncounted things with happiness!
And as I faint that I can speak
Now but in words so low, so weak,
For this poor world, which suffering pleads
For heavenly teachings, loving deeds,
I lift in Faith my trustful eye
And whisper—*In Eternity!*

Salem, New Jersey, April 10, 1859. A. W. M.

* "Cette mer que vous avez bravée, nous voulons le braver a notre tour, et nous reclamons notre droit de naufrage."—*H. B. Saintine.*

THE NEAPOLITAN EXILES:

POERIO, SETTEMBRINI AND THEIR COMPANIONS.

[Concluded.]

THE phœnix of informers, the spoiled child of the prefecture of police, a smartly-attired, middle-sized, pale-looking man, upwards of thirty, is introduced. A long visage, slightly pitted with the small-pox, a pair of little unexpressive eyes, that seem to look nowhere, a low narrow forehead, make him anything but prepossessing. In he comes with an air of assumed innocence and timidity, highly creditable to his powers as an actor. Iervolino is incontestably the one of all his worthy associates in infamy and degradation who best earns the meagre pittance of twelve ducats, or about two pounds a month, allowed him by the police. Unlike Gennaro or Marotta, who declaim their calumnies, Iervolino lets his drop from his lips modestly, hesitatingly, like one who recollects with difficulty; but once put on the right track by a frown or a word from the president, he goes on coolly and methodically, but with decision and fluency.

He deposes that, finding himself in great want, and without work, the goldsmith who usually employed him having none to give him, he went to Baron Poerio, then a minister of the crown, to procure from him what he calls *un pane sicuro*—a certainty of bread. Seeing that, in spite of the promises made him, there was no office forthcoming, he drew the conclusion that his failure must be owing to his not belonging to any sect; whereupon he urged Poerio to enrol him, the deponent, in the sect to which Poerio belonged. The minister received his overtures with pleasure, and sent him with Attanasio, a friend of Poerio, to Nisco, who, in his turn, sent him to Pacifico, at a cafe situated near Santa Brigida. Pacifico introduced Iervolino to a person named D'Ambrosio, who took him to his own house, and there initiated him into the sect of the Italian Unity. But of the oath and signs imparted to him then and there, Iervolino has no longer any recollection. In this way, he became intimate with Poerio, and knew all Poerio's familiar friends—Nisco, Attanasio, the Reverend Father Grillo, Cassiensis, and a jailer called the *Cartonajo*—all of them sectarians. Poerio made him acquainted with Settembrini also, but of the latter's friends, he, deponent, knows nothing, as Settembrini never spoke of them to him. Iervolino, moreover, went frequently to Nisco's house, and saw those intimate there. Poerio and Settembrini intrusted him with several affairs, or commissions; thus, Settembrini gave him, for distribution, twenty printed copies of an invitation, or address to the public, not to smoke, or put into the lottery, or pay the taxes; and Poerio one day desired him to go and verify whether the flag in front of the royal palace was white or tricolor. Poerio told him also, on another occasion, that the members of the sect were to have medals whereby to recognize one another, and that many of those were being struck; and that he, Iervolino, should have a good number to distribute among his proselytes. Settembrini also told him that a movement was at hand; that Garibaldi was expected, and asked him how many associates and what number of muskets he could muster; and, on hearing that Iervolino had five or six muskets, and thirty associates on whom he could depend, Settembrini showed great satisfaction. This was of course mere boasting, and only said by way of winning the confidence of the Sectarians; for Iervolino, far from seeking to collect people to fight against the king, had repeatedly having ever figured among his majesty's enemies; and used, for two months previous, to make his report at the police-office, where he had also deposited four incendiary proclamations, handed to him by Settembrini some days before this latter's arrest. He recollects nothing else.

The president bids him recall to mind his written deposition, and exhorts him to tell the whole truth. Iervolino declares that he has said all he recollected, but that he is ready to ratify all he has written, because it is the truth. Iervolino's first declaration, subsequent ratification, delation (*denunzia*), and three secret reports, are then read. He cannot say what was the tenor of the oath he took, or what were the signs taught him, having forgotten both. He recollects the signs being changed every now and then. He always received them from Settembrini, who was continually recommending him to mix among the men of the people (*popolani*) belonging to the Sect. Who those "men of the people" were, he could not say, no one in particular was pointed out to him. To the question what rank he held in the Sect? he answers that he was only a common member. But on being made to remark that his reply is in contradiction with his statement on the subject in his written declaration, he recollects that in fact he was promoted by Nisco to the rank of Unitarian. Questioned again as to the oath he took, all he remembers, he says, is that the oath was for the constitution. Questioned again, if this was all, and if a change of the form of government was not implied by the oath, he replies that at first the oath was to support the constitution, but that afterwards, as he learned from other associates, it aimed at the establishment of a republic. (Here, as usual, when the longed-for word is pronounced, the president shows marked approbation and satisfaction.) Iervolino does not recollect the signs of recognition first imparted to him, but, among those communicated to him later by Settembrini, he remembers the words, "We are all children, and the mother is Rome," and a sign which consisted in touching the nose and the left eyelid with the index of the right hand. (These are the signs given in the printed indictment.) He was never present at any meeting of the Sect, nor does he know whether there ever were such meetings.

Poerio's counsel demands the insertion in the minutes of Iervolino's statement that the oath required of him was for the constitution. Both the president and the public prosecutor oppose the demand. The counsel insists on the point. Then the president asks Iervolino again about the form of the oath, and Iervolino repeats that the constitution was sworn to, but he heard it said that later they must come to a republic; and in these terms, the answer is registered in the minutes.

The accused Poerio rises, and begs the president to ask Iervolino whether all his secret reports to the police be inserted in the process. The query is put, and answered in the affirmative by Iervolino.

"This man lies," rejoins Poerio; "for I here present to the court a report entirely written in his hand, and directed to a functionary of the police named Gennarro—a report full of the most disgusting calumnies against Settembrini and myself. I call on the delator *(denunziante)* to say if this report be his, and, in case of his denying it, I demand that the identity of his handwriting may be legally ascertained."

Navarro expresses his astonishment at hearing that a written report against the accused Poerio should be in that person's hands. To which Poerio answers, "I am not bound to say how I obtained this document. It is a secret confided to my honor, and one that will remain buried in my bosom as long as I live. The document is of use for my defence, and I here exhibit it on my own responsibility, and in the exercise of a right bestowed on me by the law. This must suffice for your watchful justice, Mr. President, as well as to make you aware that, even in these most disastrous times, oppressed virtue has more friends than the wicked can believe."

Iervolino is desired to examine the document. He comes forward with an unsteady step and blanched cheek, looks at the paper, carefully scans the address, then says, "it ought to be directed to Don Gennaro Cioffi," thus supplying the missing family name on the address, the paper having been torn away in that place. Iervolino reads, and turns and re-turns it several times, then falters out that he does not recollect having written it, but thinks it is his. At last, after being pressed by question on question, he says, "that paper is mine, but the address does not seem to me in my handwriting." The paper is read aloud by the secretary.

Poerio rises again and speaks. "Among the grounds of defence—*posizioni a discarico*—that I submitted to the court, there figured one, by which I propose to prove that, so far back as the month of May, 1849, I was perfectly aware that this man was a secret agent of that impious faction which is set on ruining me, let it cost what it will. I then offered to the court a report against me, written and signed by this man, and I request that two highly honorable persons, and most excellent friends of mine, to whom I had given that nauseous paper to read as soon as it reached me, might be examined. But the court thought proper to reject this particular request, together with the others I had made. When called up for examination, I did not fail again most respectfully to urge the admission of my previously rejected grounds of defence, in particular of this last one. I was again refused; yet the court, in its high wisdom and justice, reserved to me the right of asking for the hearing of the two witnesses indicated by me, whenever the use or necessity of their being heard should be made manifest in the course of the public debates. I demand that this right be now made good. If Divine justice has permitted me to be a target for the arrows of calumny, it has also brought forth from the womb of calumny itself the means of my justification. The high priest of human justice, ye cannot grudge me, ye will not take from me this benefit bestowed by Providence."

Poerio's counsel backs his client's demand with legal arguments. The public prosecutor opposes it. Poerio, rising, says, "It is with a most grieved spirit that I am forced to remind the honorable magistrate that, when I first produced this identical ground of defence, the public prosecutor opined for its admission. How, then, can the public prosecutor now urge the rejection of that same *posizioni a discarico* which he admitted at a former period—urge its rejection now that the document is proved authentic?"

The president here sharply admonishes the speaker, and reminds him that he is not entitled to censure the court. The procurator-general was in the exercise of his right when he admitted, as now when he rejects, an identical ground of discharge, for his own opinions are always conscientious and conformable to law.

The accused answers, "The honorable procurator-general cannot belie me when I state a positive fact, an undeniable fact, when I show him to be in flagrant contradiction with himself. This I do not assume to censure, for I know my duty, but I may be allowed to deplore it, for I know my right also, and how to exercise it, subject to and under the control of your impartial justice."

The court reserves its deliberations on this point.

The president asks Poerio if he has any remark to offer touching Iervolino's declaration, and the accused answers thus: "Most honorable president, the *denunzia* (delation) is audaciously calumnious, and the very police judged it to be so. This wretch, urged on by spite, by misery and wickedness, elaborates a false charge, and presents it on the 19th of April, 1849. It is read at the police office, and no heed is taken of it. Iervolino renews his attack, and is not listened to. Not before the 16th of May, that is after the lapse of nearly a month, is this informer called on to ratify his affirmations. He is asked for corroborating witnesses; he has none. Commissary Maddaloni dismisses him, begins no process, has thought of arresting me, and this at the moment when the police unhesitatingly imprisoned, not only the pretended chiefs, but even the simple pretended members of the pretended sect. When I was arrested, two months after, it was not in consequence of Iervolino's delation, but, as it appears from a certificate inserted in the process, on the ground of some one at Archpriest Miele's house having said he had heard that Baron Poerio and Duke Proto were the chiefs of the sect. But even then, Commissary Maddaloni did not institute any investigation relative to Iervolino's *denunzia*, for Nisco, who had been eight months in prison, was not once examined about the sect, and all the persons named in that *denunzia*, and put forward as my accomplices and sectarians, Attanasio, D'Ambrosio, Pacifico and Father Grillo, continued to live unmolested in Naples. Nor does the police believe in Iervolino's envenomed accusation at this moment, since but lately it granted a free passport to one of the denounced parties, the honorable Father Grillo, now at Rome. Iervolino's calumnious charges were only disinterred at a later season, to serve that evil inclination of police commissaries, who like to give themselves the airs of judges-inquisitor, and to swell the process with the secret information of their spies. But it is not my present purpose to confute the falsehoods gathered together in that wretch's infamous reports. I shall only, with your leave, most honorable president, put some questions to him. Where had I first the honor of making his precious acquaintance? Was he introduced to me by any friend? Did he come alone or in company?"

Iervolino replies that he sought Poerio, when he was secretary for the home department, at his private house, to present a petition to him. He was neither introduced nor recommended by any one.

Poerio again: "This man equivocates on one point. He did not come to my house, but to my office; however, this matters little. He asserts that he urged me, while I was a constitutional minister of the crown, to enroll him in a certain sect. How did he know one of the King's ministers to be a sectarian? How did he dare make a request to a high functionary of the state, which might cost him dear?"

Iervolino answers, that it was a fact publicly known, that Poerio was a member of a Sect. He further recollects *now* that his solicitations about entering the sect did not take place immediately after his introduction to Poerio, as perhaps appear from his first delation, but at a later period, and when Poerio was no longer minister; certainly not before the 16th May, 1848.

"But how, then, could Poerio, if out of office, be of use to the *denunziante?*"

Answer—"By recommending him to the other ministers."

Poerio—"The *denunziante* affirms that he was a daily visitor at my house. Where did he wait? At the street door, in the hall, the ante-chamber, or in my own room?"

Answer—"In the beginning, sometimes at the street door, or in the hall, or ante-room, but, as we became more intimate, he used to sit in Poerio's bed-room."

Poerio—"Such being the case, the deponent will certainly be able to name some among the deputies, peers, magistrates, ministers, who honored me with visits."

Answer—"Iervolino took no trouble to know the names of Poerio's visitors, excepting those of the four he wrote down in his *denunzia*."

Poerio—"But if he was accustomed to spend all his mornings in the hall, he must have come to know some of the heads of the different bureaus who called daily for my signature."

Answer—"Iervolina saw numbers of persons, but never made inquiries as to their names.

The president asks the accused, Nisco, if he has anything to say. Nisco answers, "I have to observe, in the first place, that it seems strange, to say the very least, that I should not once have been examined as to this pretended Sect. I solemnly declared that I never was a Sectarian; a villain starts up, and charges me, behind my back, with being so; of this heinous charge, a mystery is made to me during the whole of the preparatory process, that is during fourteen long months, and now I am suddenly required to answer, in a public court, the vile calumniator."

The president interrupts the accused, and warns him not to insult the witness, who is entitled to respect.

Nisco rejoins—"This man is no witness, he is a *denunziante*—a delator. If you will not allow me to call him a calumniator, I shall call him by his name, and that will be enough, nay, quite the same thing. I shall say he is an Iervolino; that name is the impersonation of all human wickedness. Well, this Iervolino confesses himself a Sectarian, confesses having taken the oath to a Sect, having, during the course of a whole year, received and executed commissions connected with that Sect. This man, then, is amenable to justice, and cannot be heard as a witness. Let Iervolino come up and take his place on these benches, let him stake his own head, and then his wonderful revelations may be, I will not say credited, but listened to without offence to the law." Here Nisco enters at length into details and statements in order to prove that, during Poerio's administration, that is from the 6th of March to the 3d of April, 1848, he, Nisco, was never in Naples, and, consequently, cannot, out of physical impossibility, have held any communication with Iervolino, as asserted by the latter, in a place where he, Nisco, was not. "I know very well," continued the accused, "that Iervolino has retracted his former saying in one respect, and assumed just now that his solicitations to Poerio to be enrolled in a Sect were made at a later period, and when Poerio was no longer in office. But when did this informer change his tactics? When the incredibility of his first affirmation stared him and every one else in the face. But Iervolino's new declaration surpasses in absurdity, if possible, the old one. His object, he declares, was to be recommended by Poerio to some of the new ministers. To the ministers, forsooth, of the 16th May!—that same administration to which Poerio, as a deputy, never ceased to offer from the tribune a loyal, conscientious, but unflinching opposition." Nisco concludes by demanding to prove, by unexceptionable witnesses, the exactness of his allegations as to his *alibi* from Naples, at a time when Iervolino alleges to have held personal intercourse with him in the capital.

Settembrini, on being asked by the president if he has anything to say, rises and answers, "After the questions put to the informer by my friend and co-accused Poerio, I have nothing to ask him with regard to myself. All I can say is, that I never knew Iervolino before, and that I wish I had not known him now. That man is in the pay of the police; he receives twelve ducats per month, besides perquisites, depending on the services he renders. See how he has cleaned and furbished himself up; he looks anything but poor now. He confided all this himself to his friends, Nicolo Rubinacci, Luigi Mazzola, Ferdinando Lanzetta, and Giovanni Luigi Pellegrino; these confidences he made on an occasion when Rubinacci, complaining to him of the hardness of the times, Iervolino exhorted him to do as he did, and he would soon be out of want. I demand that the persons we have named may be heard as witnesses, and I hope the court will grant me at least this request. I take this opportunity of reminding the court that I stand here in a solitary and unprecedented position, namely, that I am the only one in this cause whose grounds of defence have been *all* rejected in a lump. If the necessity of hearing some witness in my behalf does not arise from this man's deposition, it will arise no more, for, with the exception of this single *denunziante*, there is no witness to the charge against me in the public debates."

The court prepares to withdraw. Poerio rises and requests to speak. Navarro looks much annoyed, and shows signs of impatience, but Poerio maintains his right, and claims from the well-known "justice of the president the full exercise of the liberty of defence." After some hesitation, the president, who had already risen, sits down again, and the accused speaks as follows:

"Gentlemen: In the interest of my defence I feel called upon to submit to you a few demands, which naturally arise from the declaration of the delator. Iervolino has acknowledged as his own the infamous document I presented to the court, but, unable to divest himself entirely of the sad habit of lying, has pretended to doubt whether the address was in his own handwriting. This doubt ought to be removed, and I therefore request the court to appoint some persons skilled in such matters, and to commit to them the care of legally ascertaining whether or not the handwriting of that paper be the same with that of the address on the cover. Iervolino denies that, towards the end of May, 1849—the time at which I learned that he was a paid spy and informer—I ordered him out of my house; he even asserts that he continued to frequent it at a posterior date. I affirm, on the contrary, that precisely at that same date I read the nauseous paper I have exhibited here to two honorable friends of mine, and that in their presence I forbade him my house. It is the examination of these two witnesses I now demand, the necessity of their testimony having arisen from the public debates. I must also urge the admission of two other demands, of which I leave you in your wisdom to weigh the strict legality and high importance."

The president interrupts the accused, reminds him that Iervolino's deposition alone has already taken up six hours, and desires him to be short and leave out useless things.

Poerio answers—"It certainly is no fault of mine if Iervolino's complicated falsehoods have lengthened this discussion. As to the method of my defence, and the choice of my arguments, I beg to be allowed to follow the dictates of my judgment, and nevertheless to anticipate that benevolent attention which your noble eagerness after truth, most honorable president, and never-failing respect for the liberty of defence (Navarro winces and fidgets on his seat), secure beforehand to a man in my situation. When the court rejected my grounds of defence, it left me the right of asking for the hearing of the witnesses produced in support of those same rejected grounds, whensoever the necessity or expediency of their being heard should arise in the public trial. Of that right allow me now to make use. When the court rejected my special demand for the reintegration in the process of a document relating to a pretended letter of the Marquis Dragonetti, the court reserved to me the right of orally repeating the deductions contained in the unproduced document. Let me now benefit by that reservation, to show you the pertinency of a last request of mine."

Navarro observes to the accused, that these means have been already amply developed in his printed defence, and that their repetition will only cause a useless loss of time to the court.

Poerio—"The time you devote to the hearing of the defence is time put to its noblest purpose; nor will you regret it, honorable president, if it serves to satisfy you of my innocence, and of the wicked animosity of my enemies. Gentlemen, in my grounds of defence, I have appealed to the testimony of eminent persons, cardinals, ambassadors, ministers, generals, etc. I have called on them to depose, both to my opinions and my acts as a public man. This Iervolino, a man who has sold his soul to the faction bent on my destruction—this type of all vice dares, with the most insensate and vilest calumnies, to sully five-and-forty years of a modest but fearless and virtuous life. Can you, after listening to him, deny me the means of justification? If the list of witnesses I have produced be too long, curtail it in your wisdom, but do not reject them *all* on the plea of their being *many*. Do not thus deprive me of the means of vindicating that which is most vital to me—I mean my honor.

"And now I am come to my last request. On the 24th of July, 1849, six days after my arrest, I was summoned, for the first time, to the presence of the commissary inquisitor, and desired to open a sealed letter forwarded through the post to my address, and which was attributed to the Marquis Dragonetti. No sooner had I cast my eyes on it than I perceived at once the vile imitation of Dragonetti's handwriting. There were among my sequestrated papers some of Dragonetti's genuine letters which I produced. The commissary inquisitor and his attendants compared them with the one they had just given me, and, even to their eyes, the forgery stood confessed. Nor did I rest content with this material proof of the calumny, but I went on to corroborate it by the demonstration of a moral impossibility. How could Dragonetti, one of the purest and most elegant writers in Italy, he whose letters were models of polished style—how could he have penned a paper so full of gross blunders, not only of grammar, but of spelling? How could a man in Dragonetti's affluent circumstances, with a large circle of relations, friends and acquaintances at his service, be supposed to have employed the post in so treasonable a matter—he who had always forwarded his letters on the most indifferent subjects, by a private hand? How could it be possible that a man of mature age, and brought up in the school of misfortune, should ever dream of writing openly in his own hand, without a shadow of disguise, a letter which must send him to the scaffold, authenticating it with his signature, and the title of Marquis to boot?

"These, and such like unanswerable arguments, as I immediately set forth and indited, were entered on a minute which was drawn up at the time; but this minute does not figure among the documents of the present process, and has been kept back from malignant motives. The forged letter was to inform me that Mazzini, one of the triumvirs at Rome, gave me a rendezvous at Malta; it spoke of a universal rising throughout Italy being at hand; it alluded to a correspondence of Lord Palmerston, engaging the people of this country to proclaim a republic, and offering assistance of every kind (all eyes here turned towards the representative of Great Britain, Sir William Temple, Lord Palmerston's brother, who is present in the gallery with the Princess Colonna); finally, that stupid paper announced the imminent arrival of Garibaldi. I formally demand that the missing minute be reinstated among the documents of the cause; and I have no doubt but that you will comply with my demand, for the condemnation of the innocent is a public calamity; and to remove any such danger, you must concede to me the free use of all such means as tend to establish my being the victim of dark and calumnious machinations. And please to remark that the entry of Garibaldi is spoken of in Iervolino's *denunzia* against me of the 20th May, 1849; that the entry of Garibaldi was mentioned by the witnesses of Pomigliano examined in the preparatory process; and that the entry of Garabaldi is touched upon by the author of the forged letter, attributed to Dragonetti. Here, then, you have the watchword of my persecutors—here, then, you have the thread to unravel the web woven for my destruction. Gentlemen of the court, I adjure you to let light shine in upon you. Surely you will not, by shutting your eyes, wilfully remain in darkness."

The Grand Criminal Court withdraws to deliberate; and comes back two hours afterwards with a decision to the following effect: Of the demands of the accused Nisco, the court admits, by a majority of six votes to two, the one relating to the proof of his sojourn at San Giorgio by means of witnesses—rejects the proof, through witnesses, of the precise epoch of his journey to and from Rome, reserving to the accused the right of establishing the date by the exhibition of his passport.

Settembrini's request to prove Iervolino to be a paid agent of the police, by oral evidence, the court rejects—reserves the right to the accused of proving his assertion by documents.

All Poerio's demands are rejected in a lump.

This trial lasted eight months, from June, 1850, up to January (inclusive) of 1851. Procurator Angelillo's speech in support of the accusation took up three days. The advocates on the side of the defence fought like lions for their clients, but with little success. Out of forty-two accused, reduced to forty one by the death of Leipnecher, eight were acquitted, thirty-three condemned (we record only the severe sentences); three, among whom Settembrini, to death; two to the galleys; three to thirty-five years of irons; one, Nisco, to thirty years of irons; three, Poerio, Pironti, and Romeo, to four-and-twenty years of irons; one to twenty years of irons; eight to nineteen years of irons.

As one of the names included in this last category fell from the lips of the clerk of the court, a shriek came from the reserved gallery-seats, and a great bustle ensued. At the same instant one of the prisoners, a tall, commanding figure, ghastly pale, rose and stretched both hands towards the gallery. It was whispered among the crowd that a lady, the veiled lady who had not missed a single sitting of the court, some said the sister, some the wife of the prisoner who had stood up—some an English lady, whose life he had saved—had fainted, and been carried away by her friends.

A LESSON FROM HISTORY.

BY ANNE WARREN WESTON.

THE gloom of Life's departing day
Is darkening round a royal bed,
And on a cheek and brow like clay
There falls that nameless shadow dread,
Which tells that death draws darkly nigh
To solve of Life the mystery.

The chief of Brunswick's ancient line,
With fading eye and anxious heart,
Watches the sinking sun's decline,
And as the shadows come and part,
He marks the crimson radiance fall
Where hang the pictures on the wall.

There by some skilful limner's hand
Was many a fought'en field portrayed;
There haughty chief and warlike band
Their strength in feats of arms displayed;
And all the pageantry of strife
Glowed with the coloring of life.

And days of youth and strength and hope
Before the dying warrior rose,
Days when his arm and sword could cope
With valiant and uncumbered foes;
The clash of spears, the trumpet's note,
Seemed through the quiet room to float.

A few brief moments—and the dreams
So fraught with power and glory fade;
How light his proudest memory seems
In Truth's unmoving balance weighed!
The solemn hour has come at last,
When Conscience truly notes the past.

His wearied mind rejects them all—
The hurried scenes of years gone by,
As council board, and banquet hall,
And battle field before him lie,
With sickening heart he turns away
For holier memories to pray.

And as the deepening twilight pours
Its shadows through that lonely room,
That wan and waiting spirit soars
Above the clouds of night and gloom;
Light on those pallid features breaks
As thus, in broken tones, he speaks.

"At length the hour of darkness lifts
Its weight fr m off my fainting soul,
And Peace and Joy, those gracious gifts
Of God's free spirit, o'er me roll.
The strife, the sin of years long past,
Beneath my feet I gladly cast.

"One blest remembrance shall remain
To pour its light around my way,
And in the midst of care and pain
Its influence shall my spirit stay.
List, while in few and faltering words
My voice Christ's faithfulness records.

"Fain would my failing mind recall
The memory of that April day,
When bound for Worms's council hall
The thronging thousands took their way.
There king and bishop, priest and peer,
Had come a simple monk to hear.

"In all the pomp of earthly power
Charles and his courtiers graced the hall,
While Rome's proud legate felt that hour
An earthly empire far too small;
A throne, a sceptre, baubles these
To him who claims St. Peter's keys.

"I too was there, and through my breast
A thrill of scornful pity ran,
As, in his humble vestment drest,
Uprose one solitary man.
The lowly monk, the miner's son,
Stood forth unaided and alone.

"Nor earthly help, nor human aid,
He needed in that trial hour;
Strong in the truth and undismayed,
He witnessed to that mighty power
That fires the lip and nerves the heart
God's sternest counsel to impart.

"I listened, and my brain swam round
At the free fearless words he spoke;
But as their inmost sense I found,
A blaze of light upon me broke.
The pulses of my heart were stirred
As that heroic voice I heard.

"He ended, and the crimson flood
Passed from his cheek and brow away,
Pale and subdued and calm he stood,
While wonder, terror and dismay
Were marked on every listening face
That filled the vast and crowded space.

"On him alone *my* eyes were turned;
And as his fainting glance I met,
My very heart within me burned
With anxious pity and regret.
A cup of wine I poured in haste,
And bade his lip its virtue taste.

"He drank; and as he drank, he prayed
That in the stern and final strife,
When sins and follies darkly weighed
Upon my parting hours of life,
The memory of that act of love
Might prove a blessing from above.

"That prayer ascended not in vain—
Its answer is the gentle peace,
Unmixed with aught of fear and pain,
In which my spirit waits release."
He finished—and the watchers by
Felt it were easy thus to die.

The shadows of three hundred years
Divide us from that dying hour,
But still the Savior's promise cheers
All who have strength to prove its power.
A cup of water in His name
Shall still His blest remembrance claim.

Where'er a human voice is heard
In witness for the true and right,
Where'er a human heart is stirred
To mingle in Faith's glorious fight,
That voice revere—that heart sustain!
It shall not be to thee in vain.

THOMAS BALL, SCULPTOR.

STATUE OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—It has been proposed, and the proposition meets with favor among many prominent members of the Legislature, to appropriate $10,000 from the State Treasury for the procurement of a statue of the "old man eloquent," to be placed within the State House grounds. The suggestion has been made that Mr. Thomas Ball be secured as the artist to perform the work.—*Boston Transcript, April 5.*

WE have never learned that the proposition referred to in the above paragraph has resulted in any action, and we notice it simply for the purpose of expressing our concurrence with the suggestion with which it closes, as to the artist who should be selected for this memorial. Mr. Ball has, by years of patient labor in that department of Art in which he ultimately found his true talent to lie, after long toiling in another direction with but indifferent success, won a reputation among his brother artists, among the lovers of Art, and, by the beautiful copies in bronze, in parian, and in plaster, of some of his most successful productions, statuettes of Webster and Clay, last, and never least, has won a reputation among the *people*, as a sculptor who, without descending from the dignity of art, gives to the people the forms of the men whom they knew, as they knew them.

It is, perhaps, not generally known that in Mr. Ball's studio now stands (as it did when the commission for the Webster statue was sent to Florence several years ago) the model of a statue of the great orator, nearly equal in size to that in the Athenæum, which, in the popular judgment, in the universal judgment, would be held to be *the* "vera effigies" of Daniel Webster. The face, the head, the figure, the attitude, the expression, are all true to the life as we all of us remember that unequalled face and form, which once seen can never be forgotten, as the most imposing human face and figure ever seen. Let it once be placed where all can freely see and criticize it, and we have no question what the unanimous verdict of the public voice will be. The bronze abortion from Florence would blush, were it conscious, to find itself side by side with the plaster figure in Summer Street. No height of pedestal can ever supply a *body* within that stiff coat, or give easy folds to its rigid texture. Place it high or low, it will be, after all, a bust of Webster, as he (never) was thirty years ago, surmounting a mannikin apparelled in his clothes; apparently the work of an artist as to the head, given to some mechanic of the studio to be fitted to the semblance of a body. We say nothing as to Mr. Ball's statue, which is, in its main features, like the well-known statuette. We only invite the public to go and see it.

Another work of the artist will attract the attention of those who may visit his studio—a design for an equestrian statue of Washington, the most inspiring subject for an American artist, who has the genius to design something nobler than the image of a man in small clothes upon a rearing horse. We are of the opinion that the artist in this, too, has achieved a success deserving of a larger scale, in which it would make for itself the widest fame. We say no more about it and leave criticism to those more competent to criticize thoroughly, and again invite attention to this work, confident that it will bear candid criticism.

Mr. Ball, known to us long as a musical amateur, who has for years done good service in our public performances, has claims upon a musical journal, devoted in some degree to the sister Arts, for a recognition of his success in the sphere which he has chosen. The modesty with which he has always put forth his claims, or we should rather say shrunk from pressing them, when he might well have done so, will, in the long run, be no disadvantage to the permanent success which, we are strongly confident, he must attain.—*Dwight's Musical Journal.*

LETTER FROM REV. SAMUEL J. MAY.

Correspondence of The Syracuse Standard.

NAPLES, Tuesday, March 1, 1859.

DEAR FRIENDS: We were detained upon the Island of Capri from the noon of Saturday, the 19th ult., till the same hour of Tuesday, the 22th. All that while the Tramontono—a cold wind from the Appenines—was blowing so strongly that we not only could not get into the Azure Grotto, but could not get back to the main land. Even the Islanders were unwilling to venture out. But it was a wind without a rain, so we were able to make excursions about the Island, and take walks upon the beach. Although Capri is but 3 1-2 miles in length by 2 in breadth, it contains the ruins of many Roman palaces and temples, and of structures of the mediæval period. The Emperor Augustus first took a fancy to it, and "embellished it with palaces, baths and aqueducts." The cruel Tiberius, we are told, it was who erected the twelve palaces and temples that once stood upon as many of the most prominent points of the mountainous island. But as every building which he had put up was, at his death, thrown down by order of the Roman Senate, as an expression of the public hatred of the tyrant, only masses of shapeless ruins mark the spots where these palaces stood. The largest one of them, I have spoken of in my last letter. It stands upon the east promontory, a site well chosen, as it commands a view alike of the Bay of Naples and of Salerno, in which were several of the most important seaports of the Roman Empire.

The younger members of our party sought out several of the other ruins. They scaled the heights of Aracapri, the western portion of the island, which can be reached only by climbing a flight of 536 rude steps, that were probably cut more than 2,000 years ago, in the face of a precipitous rock, which is more than 200 feet above the sea. This was too much of an undertaking for me, with my infirm knee. Neither was I able to accompany them in their visit to the Green Grotto, on the southern shore of the island. They returned each day with the report that they had seen something which had amply repaid them for their toil.

I contented myself with strolls upon the beach, visits to the churches, and short excursions among the vineyards and the groves of orange and lemon and fig and olive trees, which cover the whole eastern declivity of Capri, separated only by narrow lanes, or flights of steps, almost all of which are paved. But you must not be deceived by the sounds of my words. These excursions are not quite so romantic as you may at first suppose; for all the vineyards, groves and gardens are surrounded by high, forbidding stone walls, which I could not climb over, nor look over, and through which I could pass only at the gates, very few of which did I ever find open. Once I succeeded in getting into a grove, where the trees were laden with oranges and lemons, and, by permission of the owner, plucking as many of them as I pleased. They were delicious. But, for the most part, my walks were along these dull lanes, and up the staircases, with nothing to be seen but the stone pavements beneath my feet, and the stone walls on either hand, until I had reached a sufficient height to look down upon some of the lower terraces. The vines were only beginning to put forth their leaf-buds, so that the yards looked uninviting; and the fig trees were utterly bare, so that their crooked, scraggy branches were an unsightly object.

But the air was invigorating, the sky clear, and the waters of the Mediterranean of a deep rich blue color, so that I found much to enjoy.

All the people I met were civil, but most of them looked poor, and many of them, especially the children, begged lustily for a little money. The houses of the peasantry and laboring people in Capri, as throughout all that part of Southern Italy which I have seen, are cheerless. They are square, with flat roofs, built of stone, with few if any windows, and look more like tombs than like the habitations of living men.

Everywhere the women appear to be hard workers—put to the most menial services. The Roman Catholic Church holds the female sex in abeyance, if not contempt; and this, I believe, operates powerfully to keep them degraded, as they obviously are. But more of this hereafter, when I shall be more fully advised.

Not having carried many books with us, nor sufficient writing materials, we were left to find, in conversation and music, such occupation and amusement as we could, during the hours that we spent in our hotel, and were not asleep. Happily, our companions were intelligent, agreeable young gentlemen, from Bath, in Maine, and graduates of Bowdoin College. So that we never lacked topics of interesting discourse or discussion.

The 22d of February recurred, while we were prisoners at Capri, and we patriotically resolved ourselves into "a very respectable meeting of American citizens, to celebrate the Birth-day of the Father of our Country."

Immediately after dinner, at 7 o'clock, on the evening of the memorable day, the table was cleared off; our padrona (or host), with his guitar, and some members of his family were invited in to witness and participate in, if they pleased, the exercises of the occasion. After a few introductory remarks by the senior member of our party, the following song, written by the youngest of our number, Mr. Frank Sewell, of Bath, Maine, was sung, with great enthusiasm, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." It is so good that I wish you to give it publication in our country—now dearer than ever!

"SONG OF THE PRISONERS OF CAPRI."

February 22, 1859.

Full many a mile the Ocean rolls
Between this lonely shore
And where, on fair Columbia's strand,
Its breaking surges roar.

CHORUS.—But suns may rise and suns may set,
Far round us stretch yon sea;
Still, "Washington and Fatherland"
Our song shall ever be.

In Capri's vale the orange blooms,
The vineyards skirt her strand;
No sky so fair, so warm as hers
Shines on our Fatherland.

CHORUS.—But suns may rise, &c.

And on the distant, shining shore
Fair Naples' domes arise;
But there's, for us, a dearer land,
Sunk 'neath yon western skies.

CHORUS.—But suns may rise, &c.

Let tyrants boast their legal crowns,
And live their little reigns;
They cannot bind a nation's heart
With never weakening chains.

CHORUS.—But suns may rise, &c.

Great Washington—his magic power
O'er us doth still retain;
And even from these distant shores
He calls us home again!

CHORUS—For suns may rise and suns may set,
Far round us stretch yon sea;
Still, "Washington and Fatherland"
Our song shall ever be.

I assure you our voices, in chorus, made the walls of our hotel ring. Our padrona, though he could not understand the words of our song, twanged his guitar, in sympathy with our enthusiasm, and in tolerable harmony with the tune. Speeches were then made by several of the company, and resolutions to publish our doings passed by acclamation. Our padrona favored us with a tune or two upon his poor instrument, and the evening closed with sundry songs, more or less appropriate to the occasion.

On the forenoon of Thursday, the 24th, the violence of the wind and of the sea having somewhat abated, though the waves still ran high, we determined to attempt to reach the main land. Accordingly, at 12 m. we embarked on board an open